Fasciculus

IOANNI WILLIS CLARK

dicatus

500 copies printed for
private circulation
No. 430



Scott & Wilkinson Photo — Emery Walker

J. W. Clark

Fasciculus

IOANNI WILLIS CLARK

dicatus

CANTABRIGIAE :
typis academicis impressus
MDCCCCIX

VIRO COMI HVMANO ERVDITO
LIBERALIBVS STVDIIS MVLTIS AFFLVENTI
NVLLVM LEVITER NVLLVM NON STRENVE TEMPTANTI
IOANNI WILLIS CLARK A.M.
ACADEMIAE HVIVS REGISTRARIO
COLLEGII S.S. TRINITATIS OLIM SOCIO
A PVERO VSQVE AD HVNC AETATIS ANNVM LXXVI^{tum}
LIBRIS ANTIQVITATI HORTIS PHYSICAE
VNICE DEDITO
THEATRI SVI TAM GRAECI QVAM RECENTIORIS
FAVTORI GRATIOSO
VIRORVM PERINDE ET ADOLESCENTIVM
SODALI IVCVNDISSIMO
HVNC FASCICVLVM
GRATI ANIMI TESTIMONIVM
D.D.
COMPLVRES AMICI
QVOS LITERARVM ARTIVM SCIENTIAE VITAE
FRATERNA QVADAM COMMVNIONE
DEVINCTOS SIBI ET CONSOCIATOS TENVIT
A.D. XIII KAL. QVINT. A.S. MDCCCCIX.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Father Ehrle and Mr Colvin have presented the illustrations for their respective articles.

The portrait is from a negative lent by Mr D. J. Scott.

ERRATUM

Page 198, Map. *Dele* Aldwinkle

To JOHN WILLIS CLARK

Knowledge increases ; bow'd beneath its weight
Our universities, more learn'd each year,
Reel forward, conscious how inadequate
Their powers to occupy the widening sphere.
O Sapientia we cry in fear
To Him who only masters all in all,
To-day, more solemn from the burial
Of one to Him, to us, to you most dear.
They bid me write, your birthday to adorn :
Go on, still teach, as none can teach but you,
The care of books, how this our Cambridge grew,
Your father's lore, stage craft, and much else ; blend
Wit, even now, with duties bravely borne,
Childlike, although you know the world, true friend.

A. J. M.

December 16, 1908.

THE CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY

OF THE

AUGUSTINIAN FRIARS AT YORK

NOW FIRST EDITED FROM THE MANUSCRIPT
AT TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN

PREFATORY NOTE

In bringing to light the accompanying text from the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, I should like to express my cordial gratitude to the Provost and Fellows of that Society, who, in the year 1901, kindly sent the manuscript to our University Library for my use. The transcript here printed was made for me by Mr Alfred Rogers with his wonted skill and care. I have collated it with the original and trust that it may be found accurate in all essentials.

By way of preface I have collected such information as I could with regard to the convent to which the library belonged, the manuscript of the catalogue, its contents and arrangement, Friar John Erghome and his books, and the extant remains of the library. I have also compiled some notes on points of interest connected with the books catalogued.

I offer the whole as a not inappropriate contribution to a subject which Mr J. W. Clark has

done much to elucidate, namely the history of medieval libraries. Those who come to the study of the present text with his work in their minds will be in a position to appreciate what may be new or enlightening in these pages. I am well aware that I have neither solved all the riddles of my text, nor provided as much illustration of its contents as some might have desired. I was unable to compile a detailed index of all the treatises: but the synopsis of the catalogue which immediately precedes the text, coupled with the notes, will constitute a fair guide to the remarkable features of the library.

The Convent.

With regard to the house of the Austin Friars at York, whose Library-catalogue we are to study, our information is singularly meagre. From the *Monasticon* (VI 1603) and Tanner's *Notitia* (York CXXVI 25) we gather that the convent, said by Speed to have been founded by Lord Scroop, was in existence as early as 1278: it stood on the bank of the Ouse, near Ouse Bridge.

It appears that the site was that now occupied by the houses in Lendal between the Congregational Church and the Post Office, together with the land behind them, reaching down to the Ouse. A small portion of the boundary wall may be seen from Lendal Bridge, but no other part of the buildings is known to exist[1].

[1] The above details are drawn from the Handbook issued in 1906 for the York Meeting of the British Association, kindly communicated to me by Mr Oxley Grebham of the York Museum.

On Nov. 28th, 1538, the house was surrendered by the Prior, nine friars and four novices; and in the 5th and 6th of Philip and Mary (1558) the site was granted to Thomas Rawson and his wife Christiana.

The names of three Priors are known besides that of William de Staynton (1372) who is mentioned in the heading of the Catalogue. These are Robert (1278—80), John de Pickering (1369) and John Aske the last Prior, who signs the surrender.

The Manuscript.

The manuscript of the Catalogue bears the pressmark D. 1. 17: former pressmarks are JJJ 25, C. 13, C. 1. 14. It is no. 286 (146) in vol. III of Bernard's *Catalogi Manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae* (1697) and no. 359 in Dr Abbott's recent catalogue of the Trinity College MSS.

Like almost all the MSS. in the Presses A, B, C, D of the College Library it formerly belonged to Archbishop Ussher, whose Library was purchased for the College in 1661 by the officers and soldiers of the army in Ireland.

In Mr J. P. Gilson's admirable edition of the catalogue of the Library of Henry Savile, of Banke in Yorkshire (1568—1617), *Bibliographical Society's Trans.* 1909, our MS. appears as no. 33.

It is a vellum MS. measuring $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $7\frac{1}{4}$; and its structure is as follows:

a^4, I^8—III^8 IV^8 (+two between 3 and 4) V^8 (+six leaves, of which 4 and 5 have

been cut out, between 3 and 4: also wanting 4); b^4 (wants 1) = ff. 4 + 45 + 3.

Quire *a* consists of four leaves ruled for astronomical tables, one being partly written: quire *b* consists of three leaves similarly ruled, and partly written, the heading being

tabula altitudinis solis ad omnes horas cum fuerit in inicio signorum London. et Oxonie.

A variety of hands appear in the manuscript. First, there is that of the original scribe. Next, that which writes the entries of books given by John Erghome. Then a group of hands which make small additions throughout, some of these being distinctly of the fifteenth century. I append a statement of them, in which the numerals of course indicate the entries of the volumes. This continuous numbering is my own.

The following entries are in the first hand, of the year 1372:

Nos. 1—4
7—22
33—44
59—66, 68, 69
71—118
176—216
261—280, 282—293, 297—8
(365—6?)
401—405, 429—433, 470—474
518, 519, 537 (538—541?), 545—555, 557—593, 599—607.

Total, 250 or 256.

In "Erghome's hand," not much later than the original:

Nos. 5, 23—32

121—126, 129—134, 136, 138, 140—142, 144, 146, 148, 152, 153—172

217—225, 247—255

300, 301, 303—309, 312—324, 361—364 (365—6 ?), 368—371, 373—377, 379—386, [I—VI][1], 395—400

406—413, 415—426, 450—469, 475—477, 479—484, 486—493, 495—512, 520—536 (538—541 ?), 597—8, 638—645.

Total, 221 or 227.

In various hands:

6, 45—49, 50—52, 67, 70

119, 120, 127, 128, 135, 137, 139, 143, 145, 147, 149—151

226—7, 228—236, 281, 294—296, 299, 302

310—11, 325—6, 327—338, 367, 372, 378, 387—8

414, 427—8, 444—449, 478, 485, 494 513—517, 542—544, 536, 594—596, 608—637, 646.

Total, 111.

In hands distinctly of cent. xv:

53—58

173—175

231—246

256—260

339—360

389—394.

Total, 58.

[1] I—VI are astronomical instruments, separately numbered.

Arrangement and Contents of the Catalogue.

The Catalogue is arranged according to the subjects of the books. The title of the department is prefixed in each case by the original compiler. The order followed is not very different from that of the Dover Catalogue of 1389, or of the far larger catalogue of St Augustine's Canterbury of about 1497; other instances might be given to show that in the later medieval period subject-catalogues were the rule, and that in the older monasteries they were substituted for more casual fashions of arrangement. Thus we have an old catalogue of Durham side by side with more recent catalogues, which exemplify this tendency very plainly.

Our York cataloguer left room and plenty of it for prospective additions. Much of this space was filled up not long after his time by the accession of John Erghome's collection, which is distributed among the older classes in the appropriate places. More will be said of it in another section. The only other accession which can be called important was the gift of John Bukwode (nos. 339—360). To judge from the hand in which this is entered, it must have accrued in the later years of the fifteenth century. The books of which it is composed are not distributed among their proper classes, but lumped together in a single list. The only other names of donors which occur are A. Bossal (nos. 6, 614), Tesdal (14, 120), Ric. Thorpe (104, 105, 378, 389), Gysburne (631), I. Byrwood (635).

The library had a simple system of pressmarks. The books in each section are numbered off by letters of the alphabet A, B, C, etc. When the alphabet is exhausted a second is begun AA, AB, etc. and, if necessary, a third follows in the form BA, BB, etc.

Erghome's books are designated in the same fashion. Later insertions of single volumes are marked thus: $R2^m$, $T2^m$, etc. Bukwode's books have letters attached to them at the end of the entry instead of at the beginning.

It is probable that these marks were inscribed in the volumes or on their bindings as well as in the catalogue; but I have never detected an example.

A synopsis of the arrangement of the catalogue will be found immediately preceding the text.

Very little can be gathered from the catalogue as to the condition and keeping of the books. A good many of them are described as *ligati*, bound in boards, and not merely in vellum wrappers. No. 44 is described as chained; its contents do not suggest any reason for this special distinction. Some few again are noted as sold (e.g. after 101, 174, 394, etc.), the astrological instruments are "for sale": one at least is lost (397). The title of the whole describes the library as the *commune armariolum* of the house. I do not think that this designation necessarily precludes the idea that the books were kept in a special room: but we are so entirely in the dark as to the arrangement and dimensions of the convent that I prefer not to venture on any attempt at reconstruction.

John Erghome and his Books.

One feature in the catalogue before us arrests attention at the first reading. It consists in the large number of books (upwards of 220) contributed by a single member of the Society, Master (or Doctor, as on f. 20*a*) John Erghome. They make up more than one third of the whole collection, and include almost all the special items which distinguish it from other small medieval libraries. We will examine the character of the books in due course; but first let us see what can be said about the personality of the donor.

First of all, it is clear that he was a member of the convent. His name appears in the heading of the catalogue, first among those brothers who were present at the drawing up or confirmation of the Catalogue in 1372.

The obvious sources of information (Bale's *Scriptores* and *Index*, and Tanner's *Bibliotheca*) tell us of Erghome's membership of the convent, and add that he studied logic, natural philosophy, and theology, at Oxford, where he became a doctor: and that he wrote the following works (of which, as usual, the opening words are given, where possible):

(1) Compilationes vaticiniorum ad Herefordie comitem, lib. I. *Ego Augustinensium minimus.*

(2) In vaticinia Joannis Bridlington, libb. III. *Illustrissimo Domino et* (Tanner cites a varying title and *incipit* from the Bodleian MS. Digby 89: Expositio super versus prophetiales Johannis Bredlington ad Humfredum comitem Hereford., libb. III. *Venerabili, etc. Cum vestrum, Domine, intellectum*).

(3) Calculationes astrologiae, lib. I.

(4) Sermones vulgares, lib. I.

(5) In carmina Johannis canonici, lib. I.

Of these works nos. 1, 2 and 5 are closely connected in subject. All three treat of prophecies: two of them are addressed to the Earl of Hereford, that is to say, Humphrey de Bohun, constable of England, and two are comments on the same text, namely the Prophecies of St John, Canon of Bridlington, who is stated to have died in 1379. We may fairly suppose some confusion on the part of our authorities, and discard no. 5 as a ghost-book probably identical with no. 2. Bale, at least, seems to have seen no. 1, and its *incipit* differs from that of no. 2.

This no. 2, the Commentary on John of Bridlington's prophecy, in three books, dedicated to Humphrey de Bohun, is the only one of Erghome's works which I can discover to be still extant. It has been printed by T. Wright in *Political Poems and Songs* (Rolls Series) I 122—215. In a note affixed to the beginning of the text, Wright involves himself in an unnecessary puzzle. His words are: "The author states that he has concealed his name,...and it is only in the Bodleian MS. (Digby 89) ...that we are told that it was Ergome. Who he was is not very clear, for he cannot have been, as stated by the old biographers, John Erghom, a friar of York, who flourished in the year 1490. See Tanner, *Bibl.* p. 263. The date of this political tract is, indeed, fixed within sufficiently narrow limits, for the Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and constable of England, to whom it is dedi-

cated, succeeded to the title and honours in 1361, and died in 1372, in his thirty-second year."

Now, as a matter of fact, Bale and Tanner agree in stating that John Erghome flourished in 1490, and Tanner adds that he died at York and lies buried in the church of his convent. But there is an error here of a century. John Erghome was, we have seen, at York in 1372, and the tract on John of Bridlington actually contains his name in the Preface, though Wright did not apply the moderate amount of ingenuity requisite to solve the enigma in which it has been veiled. The writer says that his name will appear "si super consequentiae notam caput miserationis velitis adjungere." Now, the *nota consequentiae*, or indication of a consequence, is the particle *ergo*, therefore, and the *caput miserationis*, the head of mercy, is the letter M[1], which being conjoined make Ergom.

Erghome may therefore be safely regarded as the writer of the commentary, and Wright is of opinion that both the prophecy and the comment upon it must be regarded as the work of one author. The date of the whole is assigned to about the year 1370. It is partly a retrospect, and partly a prediction, referring to the reign of Edward III.

Both the metrical prophecy and the exposition of it are deplorable productions from a literary point of view; but it may be worth while to spend a moment upon them. The prophecy is found in

[1] Parallels to this phrase might be easily adduced. There are many medieval verses which contain dates wrapped up in similar riddle-forms. One set begins "Tolle caput milvi" by which the letter M, standing for the number 1000, is meant: again "centrum solis" indicates the middle letter of solis, i.e. L (50).

many copies without the exposition; in some, but not in all, it is attributed to John of Bridlington, who was Prior of that house, died in 1379, and was regarded as a saint[1]. A life of him, attributed to George Ripley, is printed in Horstmann's *Nova Legenda Angliae* (II 64). It is incredibly wordy and very poor in incident. Nothing is said in it of John's prophetical powers.

It strikes one as curious that a prophecy written by a well-known contemporary should have been elaborately expounded by Erghome in the writer's life-time without any allusion to his identity. But Erghome is very mysterious as to the source whence the prophecy came to him. In his first Preface (for there are three) he speaks of the document as "prophetical verses collected by me in your honour," addressing Humphrey de Bohun; in the second he says that they were composed "according to the common opinion of the vulgar by a Canon Regular who composed this book when sick of a fever." Neither John (who was then Prior of Bridlington) nor his monastery is mentioned. Nor is there anything in the prophecy which serves to localize the prophet. That an imposture is being practised is abundantly clear. The view of the situation which commends itself to me as most probable is that Erghome first wrote the prophecy and circulated it anonymously, and then issued his commentary upon it.

He does not make any great display of learning, I may add, in the commentary. The most recent

[1] Note, however, that MS. Digby 186 omits the name of the seer, and assigns the prophecy to the year 1200.

authority quoted is Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon*: there are also references to Aristotle, Pliny, and *Tabulae Astronomicae*.

As to the other works ascribed to Erghome by Bale—the astronomical calculations and the Sermons, it does not appear that Bale had seen them (otherwise he would have cited their opening words), but there is no reason to doubt their having existed.

If John Erghome was a poor performer with the pen, it is at least clear from our Catalogue that he owned a library remarkable in point of size and containing a good many interesting and unusual books. Let me notice a few of them here:

No. 30, a Psalter and Canticles in Greek.

No. 121, the Prophecies of Merlin.

No. 129, Maimonides (Rabbi Moses) de duce dubiorum, i.e. the *more nebuchim* in Latin.

Nos. 154—172 (Historiae gentium) are not definitely entered as Erghome's, and I have not reckoned them as his in counting; but there is evidence that they belonged to him, for one (no. 165) survives and contains his name. Among these are copies of Gildas (156, 163), Arthurian romances (154), Caesar's commentaries (158), Sallust, Lucan, Solinus, Florus, Giraldus Cambrensis, and the Polychronicon.

In 223 and also 304 are *quaestiones* by several otherwise unknown authors, some of whom are obviously Yorkshiremen.

In 247 and the following volumes are a large collection of *Tabulae* or Indexes to well-known books.

Nos. 261—364 are especially instructive: they

are headed *Prophecie et supersticiosa*; and in the first (361) we have not only

versus cuiusdam canonici de actubus anglie

but also what is beyond question the prophecy of "John of Bridlington," namely:

prophetia canonici, *ffebribus.*

The first line of the Bridlington prophecy is

Febribus infectus requies fuerat mihi lectus.

Works of Abbot Joachim of Flora figure conspicuously both in this volume and in others of the collection.

From no. 362 we derive only too clear evidence that Erghome was interested in forbidden pursuits. Tracts with such titles as these: *De pentagono Salomonis—ad inclusionem spiritus in speculo—vinculum Salomonis—sapientia Nigromancie*, are of no doubtful character. I augur no good from another title in no. 364 *liber sacratus Petri Abellardi.*

In 363 is a copy of what we have learnt to regard as certainly Erghome's own work:

Expositio versuum *Febribus infectus.*

Erghome's astrological and astronomical library was more than respectable. Besides the more ordinary authors (chiefly Arabian or Jewish) it included Julius Firmicus Maternus, or at least four books of his work (374).

After this division are entered six astronomical instruments which had been Erghome's and are marked as "for sale." They are two astrolabes, a horologe, a globe, a quadrant, and a "clok."

His service-books, which come next, are not

remarkable : among his law-books some relating to English law perhaps merit notice. The class headed *Auctores et philosophi extranei* (450—469) is of highly miscellaneous character. Cicero, Seneca, Macrobius, Astrology, Alchemy, Mathematics, Vegetius, Palladius, Vitruvius, and a Hebrew book: these are hard to bring under any heading less vague than that which is provided here.

Under Grammar (475—519), as is usually the case, Latin poetry, both ancient and recent, is included, and there is considerable interest attaching to some of the entries of the latter category.

Under Rhetoric (520—522) only three volumes are given (Cicero, Seneca and miscellanies), but at this point two leaves have been cut out of the catalogue. I do not imagine that the class was a large one, or that we have lost many entries of importance; it is quite possible that the missing leaves were blank.

Under Medicine I note nothing specially attractive, and if, as I think, we have already had Erghome's historical books in nos. 154—172, the absence of any entry of them under the heading *Historiae et Chronicae* which follows Medicine needs no explanation. His convent was rich in homiletical books, of which he had but two : but on the other hand the Catalogue closes with a division which is all his own, dedicated to Arithmetic, Music, Geometry, and Perspective : and this contains some not uninteresting titles.

The Remains of the Library.

The fact that an establishment so obscure as this of the Austin Friars at York should have owned a library of 646 volumes a century or more before its dissolution gives scope for serious and indeed depressing reflection. Depressing, because after a lengthy search among catalogues and libraries I cannot find that more than four of the whole number have survived. Before going further I will note where and what these are.

1. British Museum, Cotton Vespasian B. xxiii = no. 493 in the Catalogue.
2. British Museum. Royal 8 B. xix = no. 460. It is no. 49 in Savile of Banke's Catalogue, ed. J. P. Gilson[1].
3. College of Arms. Arundel ms. 6 = no. 165.
4. Oxford. St John's College 150 = no. 643.

It is true that the publication of this catalogue will very likely lead to the discovery of some few more volumes: yet it is hardly open to doubt that nine-tenths of the books have ceased to exist. To be sure, it is no news that thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands, of manuscripts were destroyed in the first half of the sixteenth century; but the truth comes heavily home when we are confronted with the actual figures of the loss sustained in one small corner of the field. We may fairly reckon that what happened in the case of the Austin Friars at York happened to many another house situated like it, in a populous centre, and thus

[1] Savile probably possessed other books from our convent: see on nos. 104, 136.

enjoying good opportunities for acquiring books. At London, Bristol, Hereford, Oxford, Cambridge, Norwich, Ipswich the various orders of friars,—Franciscan, Dominican, Austin, Carmelite,—can be shown to have got together good libraries: many are the books which Leland and Bale note from their shelves or catalogues.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that in each of these cases the collection was at least equal in extent to that of the York Friars: and what is the identifiable percentage that survives? Not very much higher, I fear, taking all the houses into consideration, than in the York instance. Among those which I have mentioned the Franciscan convent at Hereford has probably left the most important remains, and next to it the Dominican house at London. But the topic is not one upon which I can dwell with any satisfaction. We can at least see to it that the republic of letters suffers no detriment at our hands; and to that end let us, as students of the past, do all we can to preserve and elucidate what is left to us.

Synopsis of the Catalogue.

Biblia, 1—6 (5 Erghome).
Historia Scholastica, 7—9.
Textus Bibliae glosati, 10—22.
  Erghome's 23—32
    (including Greek Psalter, 30;
      25, 26 Miscellaneous).
Postillae 33—52.
  Erghome's 53—58
    (incl. Aristotle de animalibus, 54,
      Septem custodiae, 57,
      Misc. 58).

Concordantiae et interpretationes nominum hebraeorum 59—62.
Originalia (Patristic and later church writers), 63—120.
Augustine, 63—9, 76—82, etc.
Ambrose and Basil occur in 69.
Hugo de S. Victore, 72.
Anselm, 75.
Jerome, 86.
Gregory, 88.
Chrysostom, 92, 106.
Isidore, 95.
Sententiae, 98—103.
Erghome's 121—153.
130, 142, 144 Misc.
Historiae Gentium, 154—175 (probably Erghome's).
Summae doctorum, *scripta super sententias*, *quodlibeta*, *et quaestiones*, 176—216,
beginning with Thomas Aquinas.
Erghome's 217—246.
Tabulae (Erghome's), 247—260.
Logicalia et philosophia cum scriptis et commentis, 261—299,
beginning with texts of Aristotle.
Erghome's 300—338.
Bukwode's gift, 339—360.
Prophetiae et superstitiosa (Erghome's), 361—364.
Astronomia et Astrologia, 365—368.
Erghome's 369—394.
Erghome's astrological instruments, I—VI.
Erghome's liturgical books, 395—400.
Iura ciuilia, 401—405.
Erghome's 406—414.
Iura canonica et leges humanae (Erghome's), 415—428.
Iura canonica, 429—449.
Auctores et philosophi extranei (Erghome's), 450—469.
Many volumes are of miscellaneous contents. 460 is Hebrew.
Grammatica, 470—474.
Erghome's 475—519,
including Latin poets.
Rhetorica (Erghome's), 520—522. Two leaves, perhaps blank, are gone.
Medicina (Erghome's), 523—544.
Historiae et Chronicae, 545—556.

Sermones et materiae sermonum, 557—596.
Erghome's 597—8.
Summae morales doctorum et sermones, 599—637.
Arithmetica, *Musica*, *Geometria*, *Perspectiua* (Erghome's), 638—646.

(leaf 1a) Inuentarium omnium librorum pertinencium ad commune armariolum domus Ebor. ordinis fratrum heremitarum Sancti Augustini factum in presencia fratrum Johannis de Erg(h)*om*e Johannis Ketilwell Ricardi de Thorpe Johannis de Appilby Anno domini M°ccclxxij in festo natiuitatis virginis gloriose. ffratre willelmo de stayntoṅ tunc existente priore.

Biblie

1 A Biblia. incipit in 2° fo. *Samuel. in heli*
2 B Biblia. incipit in 2° fo. *zechieli qui populo* [in duobus voluminibus] *added*
3 C Biblia. incipit in 2° fo. *mea et in carne*
4 D Biblia. incipit in 2° fo. *ego disperdam*

Libri Magistri Johannis Erghome

5 Biblia. 2 fol. *Ranit perdam*
Interpretaciones.

A

6[1] E Biblia incompleta diuersarum scripturarum quondam fratris A bossal. 2° fo. *me occidet me &c.*

(leaf 1b) *Hystorie Scolastice*

7 A Incipit in 2° folio. *Secunda die*
8 lig' B Incipit in 2° fo. *emperio sane firmamentis*
9 C Incipit in 2° fo. *ꝯ celumque celi.*

Textus biblie glosati.

10 lig' A Super leuiticum incipit in 2° fo. *et ouibus offerens*
Item super numerorum
Item super deutronomii
11 B xij parue prophete glosate incipit in 2° fo. *tem appellat*
12 C Job glosat' incipit in 2° fo. *tibus nocent*
Item omnes libri sapienciales glosat'

[1] 6 added.

13	D	Job glosat'. 2° fo. *domini misericordie*
(leaf 2a)		
14	E	Psalterium glosatum. 2° fo. *Sa. q. d. omnia.*
		Item articuli fidei Nicholai Ambient
		[deliberatum Magistro tesdal pro volumine sermonum sancti Augustini]
15	F	Psalterium glosatum. 2° fo. *uitura et resurreccione*
16 lig'	G	Psalterium glosatum. 2° fo. *quid multiplicati*
17	H	Psalterium glosatum. 2° fo. *stetit in cathedra*
18	I	Psalterium glosatum interlineari vsque *quid gloriaris.* 2° fo. *quentes quippe*
19	K	Super canticis canticorum. 2° fo. *speciosa mea.*
20	L	Euangelium mathei glosatum. 2° fo. *nes ab abraham.* I.
21	M	Epistole pauli glosate. 2° fo. *tudo deprehenditur*
22 lig'	N	Epistole pauli glosate per R. de Berl(inctune). 2° fo. *dicaret do*^{m}

Libri magistri Johannis Erghome

23[1]	B	Quatuor euangelia cum canone
24	C	Postille super epistolam pauli ad Romanos
		Et super primam ad cor'
		Et super secundam ad cor'
25	D	Magister historiarum in veteri testamento et super euangelia
		Excerpta ex libris moralium gregorii
		Descripciones vocabulorum
(leaf 2b)		Excerpciones ex libris confessionum beati augustini
		Sermones plures
		Versus boni de beato bernardo
		Seneca de quatuor virtutibus cardinalibus
		Prouerbia senece et cum multis sermonibus
		Notabilitates et questiones optime super genesim
		Notabilitates super exodum et questiones
26	E	Expositio bona super exodum
		Capitula 13 tractatus Ricardi de sancto victore super illud psalmum *Quid est tibi mare quod fugisti etc.*
		Ric. de sancto victore super illud ysaie *omne capud languidum* continent. 52 capitula
		Excerpta de meditationibus sancti augustini
		Postille super leuiticum bone et vtiles

[1] 23—32 are in the hand which I call Erghome's.

27	F	Postille Genesym Postille Exod' Postille leuitic' Postille Numeri Postille Deutronom'
28	G	Compendium bonauenture super totam bibliam
29	H	Postille Johannis de abbatis villa super epistolas et evangelia dominicalia
30	I	Psalterium in greco Cantica prophetarum in greco
31	K	Corrogaciones promothei super bibliam Excerpta cassiodori super Psalterium
32	L	Summa magistri Johannis cornubiensis Cantica canticorum Prouerbia salamonis glosata Epistole canonice *require residuum illius tabule in folio sequente litera M. ex altera parte*

(leaf 3a)

Postille

33	A	Postill' super penteteucum. 2° fo. *ethiopia.*
34	B	Super penteteucum. 2° fo. *merum*
35	C	Super psalterium. 2° fo. *nam et non placuerunt*
36	D	Postille super ysayam. 2° fo. *dabitur tibi velud* Item super Math. Marc. et Luc.
37	E	Super librum ecclesiastici. 2° fo. *pagani* (?) *ex natura* Item in principio illius libri tractatus de miseria condicionis humane
38	F	Postille super Math. et marc. 2° fo. *ita euangelium*
39 lig'	G	Super math. 2° fo. *iudicum capitulo* 24.
40 lig'	H	Super Marc. 2° fo. *Sexto dicebat*
41 lig'	I	Super luc. 2° fo. *apostolus ro.* 1°.
42	K	Super luc. 2° fo. *in anno confessus.* [Item dyonisius de diuinis nominibus]
43	L	Waldeby super apocalips. 2° fo. *sequitur in textu*
44 lig'	M	Super iohannem. 2° fo. *ysa* 7 Item petri alphonsi Item miraculum resuscitacionis tundali } cathenatus
45[1]	N	Item postille petri terentini super epistoll' pauli. 2° fo. *epistolam ad cor'*

[1] 45—49 perhaps later.

46	O	Item postille super ecclesiasticum. 2° f. *ei peccata multa*
47	P	Item postille super lucam. 2° f. *Ideo post baptismum* [Gorham]
48	Q	Item postille super prouerbia [qui dicitur liber cancellarii]
		Item innocencium de missarum misteriis. 2° f. *nec uento dissoluitur*
49	R	Item postille super appocal. 2° f. *prestanciorum diuers'*
50[1]	S	ffiores moralium beati gregorii
		Postille super ecclesiasticum complete
		Postille super Johannem
51	S^2	Postille super genesim excerpte de doctore de lyra per magistrum de thorp in papiro. 2° folio *subdicitur ibidem litera.* S. 2^m
52	S^3	Postille holkot super sapientiam salamonis. S. 3^m
53	M	Postille super Johannem
(leaf 3b)		Postille super Job
		Questiones theologie
54	N	Postille super apocalipsim
		Textus aristotelis de animalibus
55	O	Euangelium luce } cum glosa interlineali
		Euangelium Johannis } cum glosa interlineali
56	P	Psalterium glosatum. 2° fo. *beatus vir*
57	Q	Opus septem custodiarum super totam bibliam
58	R	Postille super genesim vsque ad 27 capitulum inclusiue. super exodum ad 30^m capitulum
		Egidius de gradibus formarum
		Extracciones commenti aueroys super xj libros metaphysice abreuiate a fratre w (?) lincolniensi

Concordancie et interpretaciones nominum hebreorum

(leaf 4a)		
59 lig'	A	Prima pars maioris concordancie. 2° fo.
60 lig'	B	2^a pars maioris concordancie. 2° fo.
		Item parue concordancie iacobi
61	C	Concordancie in minore volumine. 2° fo. *ad suum genus*
62	D	Interpretaciones nominum hebreorum. 2° fo. *et prelatus*

[1] 50—52 added : 53—58 of cent. xv.

Originalia

63 A Augustinus de verbis domini. 2° fo. *nostra qui emit.* cum aliis tribus originalibus eiusdem.
Item de verbis apostoli
Item de sermone domini in monte
Item ad iulianum comitem.
Item de correpcione et gratia
Item de heresibus.

64 A 2m Sermones beati Augustini distincti in tres partes. 2° fo. *cuius fluctus.*

65 (leaf 4b) B Augustinus de trinitate. 2° fo. *dauit ait*; cum aliis 4 eiusdem
Item de ecclesiasticis dogmatibus
Item vnde malum
Item de gratia et libero arbitrio
Item super genesim ad literam

66 C Augustinus de doctrina christiana. 2° fo. *vtendum est.* cum aliis 16 eiusdem
Item de igne purgatorio
Item ad inquisiciones ianuarii
Item de agone christiano
Item sermo de predestinacione
Item de predestinacione sanctorum et bono perseverancie
Item de perfeccione iusticie
Item de natura et gratia
Item de genesi contra manicheos
Item Soliloquiorum
Item de immortalitate anime
Item de quantitate anime
Item de conflictu viciorum et virtutum
Item de utilitate agendi penitenciam
Item sermo beati augustini de penitencia
Item de gaudio electorum et penis reproborum
Item de spiritu et anima

67[1] C2m Augustinus super Johannem } 2° fo. *haureas habes*
Item super canonicam Johannis }

68 (leaf 5a) D Augustini enchiridion. 2° fo. *lapse sunt* cum aliis 16 eiusdem
Item tractatus paruus qui incipit *fidelis homo*

[1] 67 added.

Item tractatus qui incipit *circumdabor pelle mea* de resurrectione
Item retractacionum
Item octaginta trium questionum
Item de mirabilibus sacre scripture
Item de decem preceptis
Item de diuinacione demonum
Item de fide et operibus
Item de videndo deo
Item sententie prosperi ex dictis augustini
Item de mendacio
Item de periurio
Item de inhonesta familiaritate mulierum
Item de antichristo. Item de duodecim abusionibus
Item de vera et falsa penitencia
Item de penitencia anime. Item de ieiunio sabbati
Item epistola bernardi in persona helye ad parentes suos

69[1] $D2^{m}$ Item Crisostimus super Matheum operis imperfecti
Item omelia eiusdem. 2° fo. *Abraham.*

70 E Augustinus de consensu euangeliorum in 2° fo. *tanquam qui* cum aliis. 6.
Item confessionum. Item de presencia dei
Item de vita christiana ad sororem suam
Item Exameron ambrosii
Item exameron basilii
Item de beato latrone

71 (leaf 5b) F Augustinus de baptismo paruulorum. 2° fo. *propter peccatum*
Item de vnico baptismo
Item de tribus habitaculis bonorum et malorum
Item de cura agenda pro mortuis
Item de fide et simbolo
Item de fide ad petrum
Item de vtilitate credendi
Item de Nupciis et concupiscencia
Item de bono coniugali 16[2]
Item de sancta virginitate
Item orosius ad augustinum
Item de disciplina christianorum

[1] 69 added in the margin of f. 5a.
[2] i.e. the volume contains 16 tracts.

Item de quatuor virtutibus caritatis
Item contra mendacium
Item de spiritu et litera
Item de vera reli(gi)one

72 G Hugo de sacramentis. 2° fo. *in primum et secundis*
Item meditaciones hugonis
Item hugo de reformacione verbi
Item hugo de septenis
Item hugo (de) 6 dubitationibus
Item de tribus que reddi debent deo
Item de dileccione dei
Item hugo de vita cordis
Item hugo de duplici impugnacione dyaboli
Item hugo de tribus locis dyaboli
Item hugo de quinque statibus humane
Item hugo super *tota pulcra es.*
Item hugo super oracionem dominicam
Item sermones beati augustini

73 H Aug. de trinitate. 2° fo. *non prope de deo*

74 I Augustinus de trinitate et super genesim ad literam.
(leaf 6a) 2° fo. *si quid huius.*

75 K Monologion anselmi. 2° fo. *itaque solum est*
Item prosologion eiusdem
Item anselmus de veritate
Item anselmus de liberta(te) arbitrii
Item anselmus de casu dyaboli
Item anselmus cur deus homo
Item anselmus de concordia presciencie et predestinacionis
Item anselmus de incarnacione verbi
Item anselmus de grammatico
Item anselmus de conceptu virginali
Item anselmus de processione spiritus sancti
Item anselmus de az(i)mo et fermentato
Item anselmus de septem sacramentis ecclesie 24
Item interrogaciones eiusdem.
Item anselmus de 7 beatitudinibus
Item bernardus de libero arbitrio et gratia
Item bernardus de amore dei
Item bernardus de diligendo deo
Item bernardus de preceptis et dispensacione
Item bernardus de lamentacione virginis et passione christi

Item bernardus super *Missus est*
Item augustinus de octoginta tribus questionibus
Item inter orig'. d.
Item augustinus de libero arbitrio voluntatis
Item augustinus retractacionum

76 L Augustinus de ciuitate dei. 2° fo. *locis ei sacratis*

77 M Augustinus de trinitate. 2° fo. *qualem vidi script'* [et postille super iob.]

78 N Augustinus super psalterium. prima pars. 2° fo. *pro eo quod irridebit.*

79 O Augustinus super secundam partem Psalterii. 2° fo. *non caste.*

80 P Augustinus super tertiam partem Psalterii. 2° fo. *ceteri apostoli.*

81 Q Augustinus super Psalterium. 2° fo. *et quando se videntur*

82 (leaf 6b) R Meditacio beati augustini de spiritu sancto. 2° fo. *in aliis duobus.*
Item Meditacio alredy abbatis
Item meditacio ambrosii de passione christi
Item Oratio bernardi ad beatam virginem
Item tractatus Waldebŷ de 12 articulis fidei 8
Item Exortacio (Waldeby) (in margin) monachi ad parentes suos
Item tractatus Waldeby. *Misericordias domini*
Item tractatus eiusdem super 7 Psalmos penitenciales

83 S Lincolniensis de locis intelligenciarum. 2° fo. *superficiei*
Item Lincolniensis de Cessacione legalium
Item Augustinus de moribus ecclesie contra manicheos libri duo.
Item Augustinus contra epistolam fundamenti
Item tabula super decretis
Item tractatus de ordine literarum
Item tractatus de 10 preceptis
Item tractatus de 7 peticionibus oracionis dominice

84 T Liber egipii (Eugippii) excerptus de operibus aug'. 2° fo. *fatali*
Item excerpta libri beati gregorii li. 15.
Item aug'. de conflictu viciorum et virtutum
Item aug'. de beata vita
Item anselmus cur deus homo

85	U	Tabule originalium aug'. continens 44 tabulas incipit in 2° fo. *ianus septimo*
86	X	Prima pars epistolarum ieronimi. 2° fo. *epistola damasi*
87	Y	Secunda pars epistolarum ieronimi. 2° fo. *incipit epistola*
88	Z	Moralium gregorii. 2° fo. *so quia scriptura*
(leaf 7a)		
89	Ӿ	Dialogorum gregorii. 2° fo. *quomodo equicius*
90	ʔ	Speculum gregorii de vera simplicitate. 2° fo. *asinas possidemus*
		Item liber de fructibus penitencie.
91	AA	Sermones bernardi super cantica. 2° fo. *spiritum aū*
92	AB	Crisostomus super Matheum de opere imperfecto. 2° fo. *corpus fornicatur*
		Item tabula super eundem
		Item epistole lemonisensis
		Item liber anselmi auelburgensis episcopi
93	AC	Hugo de contemptu mundi. 2° fo. *istud igitur est*
		Item hugo de arra anime
		Item de tribus dietis
		Item de virginitate beate marie
		Item hugo de archa noe.
	AD	erasure of 4 lines
94	AE	Omelie venerabilis bede. 2° fo. *ali ad internum*
		Item gregorius super euangelia
		Item manipulus florum
95	AF	Soliloquiorum ẏsidori. 2° fo. *morti iam liceret*
		Item ysiderus de summo bono
		Item narraciones
		Item meditaciones bernardi
96 lig'	AG	Ysiderus ethimologiarum. 2° fo. *hoc solum*
(leaf 7b)		Item boecius de disciplina scolarium 3
		Item brito de verbis difficilibus biblie
97 lig'	AH	ẏsiderus de summo bono. 2° fo. *non ideo*
98	AI	Textus sententiarum. 2° fo. *creatoris*
99	AK	Textus sententiarum. 2° fo. *Missus filius*
100	AL	Textus sententiarum. 2° fo. *nitas sicut verbum*
101	AM	Textus sententiarum. 2° fo. *quod aliqua persona*
	AN	venditus
102	AO	Textus sententiarum. 2° fo. *pluralitatis distinccio*
103 lig'	AP	Textus sententiarum. 2° fo. *vel filium*

104[1] AQ Opuscula hyldeberti episcopi. 2° fo. *virtute gratulor*
Th[2] Item liber abbatis bona vallis de vtroque testamento
Item tractatus Johannis andree super quartum decretalium
Item casus in quibus aliquis incurrit excommunicationem.

105 AR Epistole petri blesensis. 2° fo. *enim seipsum*
Th[2] Item historie anglie
Item statuta sancti benedicti

Excerpta subscriptorum

106 AS Johannes crisostomus ad Theoderum monachum.
(leaf 8a) 2° fo. *videatur qui*
Item eiusdem de reparacione lapsi
Item eiusdem qui intitulatur de eo quod non leditur homo nisi a semetipso
Item eiusdem de compunccione
Item eiusdem super *miserere mei*
Item eiusdem de confessione et penitencia
Item eiusdem de constancia fidei et fiducia inter aduersa et uirtute orationis
Item eiusdem de mansuetudine et potestate et gratia domini in cena
Item eiusdem de laude sancte crucis
Item eiusdem de assencione domini
Item eiusdem de muliere mala
Item omelia eiusdem super matheum
Item sermones bernardi super cantica
Item eiusdem de diligendo deo 29
Item eiusdem de gradibus humilitatis
Item de epistolis eiusdem
Item epistola eiusdem ad fratres de monte dei
Item eiusdem de consideracione ad eugenium papam
Item de meditacionibus eiusdem
Item liber eiusdem de amore dei
Item omelia gregorii super ezechielem
Item pastoralis gregorii
Item sermones petri rauennensis

[1] Cf. Savile MS. 137. (*a*) Epistolae Hildeberti; (*b*) Liber abbatis Bonavallis; (*c*) Liber eiusdem; (*d*) Sermo Bernardi. Arts. 3, 4 here are not entered.

[2] ? = Thorpe.

Item sermo leonis pape
Item epistole hyldeberti cenomanensis episcopi
Item soliloquiorum ysidori
Item eiusdem de sacramento baptismatis
Item cassioderus de institucione diuinarum scripturarum
Item epistole eiusdem.

107 AT Stimulus amoris. [fo. 2° *nisi mortuus*
Item bernardus de lamentacione beate virginis]

108 AU Meditaciones bernardi. 2° fo.
(leaf 8b) Item morale dogma philosophorum

109 AX Disputationes gilberti cum iudeis
Item sermo eiusdem in die palmarum
Item interrogationes et responsiones de angelo perdito
Item interrogationes et responsiones de sacramento altaris
Item sermo augustini de natiuitate domini *vos inquam*
Item passio eustachii versifice
Item relacio augustini qualiter anglicos ad fidem conuertit
Item de ymagine domini in ciuitate biricho
Item de quodam milite in peccatis suis mortuo qui dum uellet penitere et confiteri non potuit
Item de quodam altero mortuo et resuscitato qui per angelum ductus vidit gloriam iustorum et penam reproborum.
Item actus monachi captiui
Item vita marie egipciace versifice
Item sentencie excerpte de libro pastoralis gregorii
Item sermones eiusdem.

110 AY Pharetra continens libros quatuor

111 AZ Augustinus de vita christiana. 2° fo. *clemenciam*
Item augustinus de tenendo obedientiam et vitando superbiam
Item de diffinitionibus ecclesiasticorum dogmatis
Item textus decretalium

112 A~~X~~ Item Epistole august'.
[2° yponosticōn
3° de catheclismo
4° de cantico nouo
5° contra ffelicianum
6° de symbolo
7° de agone christiano
8° sermones 26]

113 AZ Augustinus de spiritu et anima. 2° fo. *ad uiuificōm*
Item aug' de vera innocencia
Item aug' soliloquiorum
Item aug' encheridion
Item clemens de articulis fidei
(leaf 9a) Item commentum de causis
Summa raymundi
Exposicio super thumeum platonis
114[1] lig' BA Omelie gregorii. 2° fo. *aperte nne videmur*
115 lig' BB Manipulus florum. 2° fo. *vtantur dubites*
Item versus de tota biblia
Item concordancie distincte per v. libros
116 BC successiones episcoporum eborum. 2° fo. *ca v°*
Item pastoralia beati gregorii
Item tres libri moralium cum quarto imperfecto
Item Raymundus super decretis (?)
Item Tractatus super spiritum secundum iiij^{or} virtutes cardinales
lig'
Item glosa imperfecta super epistolas pauli
Item Augustinus de x. cordis
Item leo papa de conflictu viciorum et virtutum
Item Aug' de sermone domini in monte
117 liber Magistri piktauensis de sentens'. 2° fo. *ordo est*
lig' BD Item quidam libellus de excommunicacione
Item quidam libellus de penitencia
Item quedam expositio super cantica canticorum
118 lig' BE sentencie casÿodori. 2° fo. *grat in corde*
Item liber penitenciarum
119[2] BF August' de Trinitate. 2° folio *substanciarum*
Item Boycius de Trinitate
Item Boycius de Ebdomadibus
Item Boycius de duabus naturis et vna persona in christo
Item quatuor libri Sentenciarum Johannis damasceni
Item 6us Musice Augustini. sequitur residuum ex alia parte
(leaf 9b) Item 2us liber Aug' de libero arbitrio et 3us
Item Aug' de vera Religione et 1us de libero arbitrio
Item Comentum vercelensis super angelicam Jerarchiam

[1] 114—118 in paler ink.
[2] 119, 120 in later hand.

Item Comentum eiusdem super angelicam (ecclesiasticam ?) Jerarchiam
Item Comentum eiusdem super librum dyonisii de diuinis nominibus
Item Comentum eiusdem super Misticam theologiam
Item Comentum eiusdem super Symbolicam theologiam
Item Aug' de concordia Ewangelistarum
120 BG Item Ambrosius super lucam de dono Magistri Henrici Tesdal

Libri Magistri Joh Erghom

121=379 BH Massa compoti
Declaratio virgilii in eneydos
Nich. de lira contra iudeum de uerbis euangelii
Anselmus inter christianum et gentilem
Will'. de sancto amore
Postille super ecclesiasten
Postille super prouerbia
liber alberti de Mineralibus
Versus super decreta
Prophetie Merlini
122 BI Petrus aurioli in compendio sensus (?) literalis tocius scripture
123 BK Summa de viciis et virtutibus
124 A Jeronimus de interpretationibus hebraicorum nominum
Jero. de distancia locorum
Jero. de partibus hebraicis
Jero. de questionibus libri rerum (Regum)
125 B Apocalipsis Golie
ysodorus ethimologiarum libri 20
126 C ysodorus de summo bono libri quatuor
(leaf 10a) Item percius cum commento
127[1] C2^{m} Innocencius tertius papa. super septem psalmos penitenciales. 2° folio *propter quatuor*
128[1] E2^{m} Item Sinonima ysodori Ispallensis vrbis episcopi 2° folio *ffensionem adhibet*
129 E Rabij moyses de duce dubiorum
130 ?F Canones penitenciales beati Jeronimi
Canones ffulgencii

[1] Added in margin.

Item de antichristo
Jeron' de xv singnis
Sermones diuersorum doctorum numero 21
Omelia (?) Crisostomi de penitentia agenda
Sermo eiusdem de vitandis peccatis
F Expositio de antichristo et eius singnis
Sermo de die Judicii
Declaratio ffesti sancti petri ad uincula
Exhortatio ad penitentes in capite ieiunii et forma penitencie inponende
131 G Decreta pontificum
Diuerse narraciones sanctorum
Expositio super missam
Canones diversorum consiliorum
Sermones Odonis abbatis
fflores moral' greg' ab adam leuita collecti
Bern' in remedi(ari)o conuersorum ex dictis greg'
Vasiligeronticon petri blesensis super iob
132 H Regula sancti augustini
Sermones 34 eiusdem ad fratres suos in heremo
Historia eiusdem augustini ex diuersis auctoribus collecta
duo sermones eiusdem cum rescripto clericorum ecclesie yponensis
constituciones cum addicionibus ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti augustini
133 I Augustinus super Genesym ad literam libri 22°
Augustinus de ciuitate dei libri 22°
134 K Augustinus de verbis domini
(leaf 10b) Augustinus de verbis apostoli
135[1] K2m liber Albertani de doctrina docendi et dicendi. 2° fo. *Dixit homo*
liber eiusdem de consolacione et consilio
liber eiusdem de amore et dileccione dei et proximi diuisus in quatuor libros
liber eiusdem qui vocatur formula vite honeste
Item vita sancti thome Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis
136[2] L Augustinus de doctrina christiana
Encheridion

[1] Added in margin.

[2] Agrees with Savile MS. No. 74 which omits articles 1 and 2, apparently afterwards in the Chapter Library, Westminster (*MSS. at Westminster*, Robinson and James): list B. 41: burnt in 1694.

Cimbolum august'
Disputatio contra felicianum hereticum
De perfeccione iustitie
De nature gratia
Epistola ad valentinum
Item alia ad valentinum
De gratia et libero arbitrio
De corepcione et gratia
Epistola prosperi ad augustinum
Epistola hillarii ad augustinum
liber de predestinacione sanctorum
De bono perseuerantie

137[1] L2m Culmensis de statu cardinalium. 2° folio *per Ordinem*

138 M Encheridion augustini

139[1] M2m Item quedam moralia super ewangelium Johannis. folio 2° *ad ipsum*
Item pharetram gilberti continens quatuor libros
Item tabula martiniana
Item summa iusticie galensis distincta in tres partes

140 N Jeronimus in ysayam libri 18

141 O Boecius de trinitate ad simachum
Idem si nomina personarum de diuinitate substantialiter predicentur
Item de ebdomadibus. Item de predicamentis (?) de deo

142 P Anselmus de laude virginis Marie
hugo de arra anime
Crisostomus de reparacione lapsi
Alex. nequam de partibus biblie
Sentencia marciane(-i) de nupciis
Tullius de senectute
Tullius [de] in paradoxis
Difforisme (afforismi) naturales vrsones (Ursonis)

143[1] Q Tripartita historia
Cronica processus seculi ad tempus henrici
Tabula originalium

144 (leaf 11a) R Meditaciones beati bernardi
Prosologion anselmi
Meditatio anselmi
Oraciones anselmi

[1] Added in margin.

Jeronimus de membris domini
Dicta quorundam philosophorum
Expositio super salustum cateline et iugurte
Liber lapidarii
Liber herbarum
Diuisio scientiarum
Expositio super thimeum platonis
Astrologia marciani
Tractatus iginii de astrologia

145[1] R2m Aug' de opere monachorum
liber eiusdem de presencia dei
liber eiusdem qui vocatur enchiridion
liber eiusdem de fide et operibus
liber eiusdem de vita christiana
liber eiusdem de bono coniugali
liber eiusdem de bono viduitatis

146 S Questiones Jeron' super genesim
Jeronimus de distancia locorum
Jeronimus de interpretacione nominum hebraicorum
Commentum boecii de consolatione philosophie
Galienus de interioribus

147[1] S2m Anselmus cur deus homo
Aug' de Naui et nauis ornamentis
liber eiusdem de munimine anime
liber isiodori de anima
Aug' contra epistolam Manicheorum quam vocant fundamentum fidei
liber Meditacionum bernardi
prosologion ancelmi
liber ysodori iuniorum (? iunioris) de differenciis
liber senece de morum institucione
Ancelmus de libero arbitrio
liber eiusdem de casu diaboli
liber eiusdem de concordia prescientie dei cum libero arbitrio
liber eiusdem de concordia predestinacionis cum libero arbitrio
liber eiusdem (de) conceptu virginali
liber soliloquiorum beati augustini. versus notabiles de expulsione Ade de paradiso
Aug' contra mendacium

[1] Added in margin.

Regula eiusdem de vita clericorum
sermo eiusdem qui incipit *Caritati vestre* etc.
Item liber eiusdem de conflictu viciorum et virtutum

148 T Ricardus de s. victore de patriarchis
Tractatus de ligno vite
valerius de vxore non ducenda
ffulgencius de diccionibus difficilibus

148 U Comentum hugonis super Gerarchiam angelicam dyonisii

149[1] X Aug' de spiritu et anima
liber de causis
De differentia spiritus et anime
Epistola aristotelis ad alexandrum
De breuitate (et) longitate vite
Tractatus compilatus ex auctoritatibus sanctorum

150[1] Y Postilla quedam super psalterium
liber bene (*sic*) de penitencia
Aug' de gaudiis electorum et penis reproborum

151[1] X2m Omelie gregorii
Aug' de milicia spirituali
Aug' de congniscione vere vite
Meditaciones eiusdem
Epistola valerii ad rufinum
veritas theologie
liber Metodii episcopi

152 Z fflores Bede

153 Ꞇ Item quidam postulator (postillator) super ecclesiasten
Item macrobius de sompno cipionis
Item philosophia Willelmi de Conches

(leaf 11b) *Historie gencium*[2]

154 A Policronica Radulphi

155 B Valerius Maximus

156 C Hystoria britonum Galfridi manamutensis
Distincciones regnorum anglie
De situ terre hierosolimitane et habitantibus in ea
Gesta britonum a Gylda sapiente composita
quedam prophetie Merlnyny (Merlini)

[1] 149, 150 are in another hand, 151 in margin.
[2] The hand of this section is rather small.

		testamenta 12 patriarcharum a Roberto lincoln' translata
		petrus alphonsus de suis fabulis
		de morte nobilissimi regis arthuri
		flores elynandi
		distinccio regionum
		quedam narraciones
		expositio diccionum de historia britonum
157	D	dictis effymerides de bello troiano libri 6
		Synonima chitheronis
158	E	Julius celsus de gestis cesaris libri 8
159	F	Solinus Gaẏus . iulius de mirabilibus
		Speculum astronomie
		Elprẏcius de astronomia
		Argaphalon . chaldeus
		breuiarium alhandrei
		tractatus de rethorica
		expositio super epistolam Jeronimi ad paulinum
160	G	Justinus in abreuiacione trogi pompei libri 44
161	H	cronica seueri sulpicii libri 2°
		paulus de Gestis longobardorum libri 6
		itenarium Bernardi de locis sanctis
		Epetoma bede de locis sanctis
162	I	Vegecius de re militari libri 4
(fol. 12[a])		liber agnei flori
		Galieni diamediarum libri tres
163	K	Dares frigius de bello troiano
		bernardus de Gordonia de fleobitomia
		hystoria monachorum
		Gildas de excidio britannie
		Joachim super apocalipsim
		Joachim de concordancia testamentorum
		Dares frigius versificatus
164	L	Beda de gestis anglorum libri 5
165[1]	M	hystoria frethulphi episcopi vsque christum libri 7
		eiusdem post christum libri 5
		hystoria abbreuiata a principio mundi vsque ad annum christi 1287
		hystoria ab aduentu anglorum vsque christi 1357
166	N	Salustius in cathelinario
		Salustius de bello Gigurtino

[1] Now Heralds' College, Arundel MS. 6.

lucanus de bello ciuili in 10 li.
tullius in sompno sipionis
macrobius super sompnum sipionis
167 O Orosius de ormesta mundi libri 7
libellus de locis quos ambulauit s. antonius
168 P hystoria hugonis floriacensis siue (?) yuonis camotensis
169 Q speculum cronicorum
expositio Bede quorundam nominum de temporibus
Kalendarium bede cum quibusdam tabulis
liber bede de temporibus in cronica sua
170 R Topographia hybernie Geraldi
vocabularium super alphabetum cum 14 aliis tractatibus
171 S liber salustie in catelinam
(leaf 12b) tullie(-i) inuectiuarum cum aliis libris quatuor
172 T Egesippus
173[1] U vigecius de re militari libri quatuor
tractatus notabilis declarans correctionem (?) et defectum kalendarii
expositio compoti Mauricii
de faciebus celi tractatus eiusdem
? Plato in fedrone incompletus et totus libri (-er?) in papiro
174 X Policraticus salisburiensis. 2° folio *meum habeo*
venditur
175 Y Policraticus salisburiensis. 2° folio *Euagetur*

Summe doctorum, scripta super sentencias, Quodlibeta et questiones
(fol. 13a)

176[2] A Thomas contra gentiles. 2° fo. *huic in veritati*
177 B Thomas de potentia dei. 2° fo. *sit esse purum*
Item x omelie augustini in epistolam iohannis
Item quedam cronica incipiens *superius autem*
Item sermones qui incipiunt *ecce rex tuus*
Item summa Rofridi beneuentani incipit *si considerare*
Item vnus alius tractatus incipit *vniuersa propter se*
178 C Thomas de veritate. 2° fo. *sit aliud ei correspondens*
179 D Correctorium thome cum responsorio. 2° fo. *fratre propositionem am...*

[1] 173—175 are added (cent. xv.).
[2] A to AN or AR in the original hand.

180 E Prima pars sententie (summe) thome. 2º fo. *manifestissima rerum*

181 F Prima secunde. 2º fo. *naturalia et equa*

182 G Secunda secunde. 2º fo. *falsum aliud estimare*

183 H Prima pars summe fratris thome. 2º fo. *practica inquam*

184 I Summa gandavensis. 2º fo. *casus in puteum*

185 K Octo quodlibeta gandauensis. 2º fo. *ponebant et non*

186 L Septem quodlibeta eiusdem in alio vol. 2º fo. *affectu cupi*

187 M Septem quodlibeta godfridi. 2º fo. *non communicant in genere*

188 N Questiones thome de relationibus. 2º fo. *secundum veritatem*

189 O Sextum quodlibet godfridi. 2º fo. *ad finem nullo supposito*

Item primum quodlibetum iacobi

190 P Veritas theologie. 2º fo. *et infinitum que vniuersitas*

191 Q Altissiodorensis super p^{m} et 2^{m} sententiarum. 2º fo.

(leaf 13b) *bilis falsitatis*

192 R Altissiodorensis super 3^{m} et 4^{m} sententiarum. 2º fo. *si ratione naturarum*

193 S Theoremata egidii. 2º fo. *materiam in aliam conuertere*

Item questio quedam perusiensis incipit *vtrum veteris testamenti*

Item notule hugonis super vetus testamentum

Item hugo de sancto victore

Item idem de instruccione nouiciorum

Item responsio nicholai de lira contra iudeum

Item quedam tabula de auctoritatibus expositis ad.

Item aug' de ecclesiasticis dogmatibus

Item Aug' de fide rerum inuisibilium

Item quidam sermones

194 T Egidius de causis. 2º fo. *methephysicus scientia tradita*

Item quinque quodlibeta eiusdem

195 U Sextum quodlibet egidii. 2º fo. *caritatis non requiritur*

Item scriptum eiusdem super librum de bona fortuna

Item idem de peccato originali

Item questiones eiusdem de compositione angelorum

Item questiones eiusdem de resurrectione mortuorum

196 X Egidius de originali peccato. 2° fo. *rentur illo*
Item tractatus Rogeri bacon de tempore
Item questiones egidii de resurrectione mortuorum
Item theoremata eiusdem
Item thomas de esse (et) essentia
Item extractum de media villa super 4^{m}

197 Y Hugo super sententias. 2° fo. *dicitur accipitur* (?)

198 Z Scriptum thome super p^{m}. 2° fo. *existentibus secundum laciones*

199 X Scriptum eiusdem super 2^{m}. 2° fo. *ratio actus* ?

200 AA Scriptum eiusdem super 3^{m}. 2° fo. *et que infra eas*

201 AB Scriptum thome super 4^{m}. 2° fo. *secundum dicend'*
(leaf 14a) *quod signum*

202 AC Bonauentura super 2^{m} sententiarum. 2° fo. *ducens enim prius et perfectius*

203 AD Bonauentura super 4^{m} sententiarum. 2° fo. *quod sunt grauia*

204 AE Scriptum super 3^{m} sententiarum. 2° fo. *assumere quare tantum*

205 AF Scriptum super 3^{m} et 4^{m} sententiarum 2° fo. *apostoli tractans illud verbum*

206 AG Repertorium Hylkelaÿ. 2° fo. *item contradictio enim*

207 AH Repertorium thornton. 2° fo. *sensus in talibus non*

208 AI Repertorium Waldebÿ. 2° fo. *quod elegi noli*

209 AK Scriptum war' super 2^{m} 3^{m} et 4^{m} sententiarum. 2^{c} fo. *quia nihil presupponitur*
Item textus de anima
Item de causis cum comento
Item scriptum egidii super de generatione imperfectum

210 AL Ricardus de lincoln' super sententias. 2° fo. *filius et spiritus s.*
Item prepositiuus super sententias
Item textus sexti decretalium
Item constituciones octoboni
Item prima pars legende sanctorum vsque ad circumcisionem
Item exposiciones omeliarum de tempore per totum annum
Item postille super euangelium
Item textus leuitici glosatus

211 AM Questiones theologie multe et bone. 2° fo. *ante illud quod*

212	AN	vna tabula per literam alphabeti Item contra opera sancti thome Item expositio incompleta super epistolas pauli Item expositio super numeri et deutronomii incompleta Item halt'(on ?) de preceptis Item altissi⟨o⟩dorensis super 3^m Item sermones antiqui
213	AO	questiones theologie multe. 2° fo. *vtrum verbum diuinum*
214	AP	Lectura super p^m sententiarum. 2° fo. *suum ergo*
(leaf 14b)		
215	AQ	Scotus super primum librum sententiarum cum reportorio. 2° fo. *ratio concludit* Item quodibet' eiusdem
216	AR	Scotus super 4^m sententiarum. 2° fo. *in instanti*

libri magistri Johannis Erghome

217[1]	A	Prima secunde thome cum aliis
218	B	Scriptum Occham super p^m sententiarum
219	C	Menvile super 2^m sententiarum Scriptum armachani super sententias Scriptum Occham super 2^m 3^m et 4^m sententiarum
220	D	Summa henrici de Gandauo
221	E	Liber questionum qui incipit *vtrum relacionis*
222	F	Summa W. altissiod' [*added in margin*: ex dono Magistri groue]
223	G	Questiones et determinaciones Durdone Vesperie Roberti de Beuerlay Determinatio Martini de alnewik et disputationes eiusdem Questiones super sententias Roberti Cowton Quodlibet' Magistri willelmi de Boys et questiones eius Questiones Cretẏng Questiones bukiestre Questiones ffratris Ricardi Wetewang' Questiones clothayle Questiones Trynothe et multe alie questiones
224	H	Questiones super p^m et 2^m sententiarum

[1] The hands in this section are thus divided: 217—225 : 226, 7 : 228—230 : 231—244 : 245, 6.

225 I Quodlibeta et questiones Wetewang'

(leaf 15a) Summa durandi super decretales

226 K Questiones diuerse theologice

227 L Questiones diuerse theologice

228 M Reportorium de operibus gregorii et aliorum doctorum in papiro inter asseres albos

229 N Vnum baghe questionum de diuersis materiebus de percameno et papiro inter asseres rubeos

230 O Item aliud baghe questionum de percameno et papiro inter asseres

231 P Bonauentura complete super 2m sententiarum. 2° folio *sicut melius*

232 Q Item doctor subtilis super 4 libros sententiarum
Scotus complete cum tabula super eisdem in fine

233 R Item quedam lecture super sententias

234 S Item alie diuerse lecture super sententias

235 T Item Sanctus thomas de veritate de potencia et de malo. 2° folio *et non in tribus*

236 V Item quodlibet magistri godfridi. 2° folio *Materie et sic posset*

237 X Item quodlibet ffratris Jacobi et alexandri. 2° folio *due equales*

238 Y Item questiones egidii de esse et essentia cum aliis. 2° folio *ad aliquod*

239 Z Item gregorius nouellus super primum. 2° folio *et Res simplicissima*

240 ⁊ Item gregorius (gysburn) super 2m 2° folio *de agente*

241 9 Item hugolinus super quatuor libros sententiarum. 2° folio *diuine involito*

242 AB Item lectura [*erasure*] super sententias. 2° folio

243 AC Item Dokhyng super sentencias. 2° folio *Est tandem*

244 AD Defensorium Ocham et dialogus eiusdem. 2° folio *Non latere*

245 AE Item hockam super primum sententiarum cum suis quodlibeticis (?) litteris

246 Aff Item Bonauentura super 3m sententiarum. 2° fo. *assumere litteris*

Tabule

Libri magistri Joh'. Erghome

247[1] A Tabula super libros de ciuitate dei
(leaf 15b) tabula super aug' de doctrina christiana
tabula super aug' confessionum
tabula super augustinum retract(at)ionum
tabula super aug' super genesim ad literam
tabula super aug' de trinitate
tabula super aug' de sermone domini in monte
tabula super aug' in encheridion
tabula super aug' de fide ad petrum
tabula super aug' de libro de predestinatione dei
tabula super aug' de gratia et libero arbitrio
tabula super aug' ad inquisiciones Januarii
tabula super aug' de moribus ecclesie et manicheorum
tabula super aug' de fide et simbolo
tabula super aug' ad juuenes
tabula super aug' de cura pro mortuis
tabula super aug' de moribus ecclesie et manicheorum
tabula super aug' in ŷponosticon
tabula super aug' contra epistolam manichei
tabula super aug' libro de mendacio
tabula super aug' contra mendacium
tabula super aug' de duabus animabus
tabula super aug' de videndo deo
tabula super aug' ad macedonium
tabula super aug' soliloquiorum
tabula super aug' ad volusianum de virginitate
248 B Tabula decretalium
Tabula decretorum
tabula sententiarum
tabula ŷsideri ethimologiarum
tabula epistolarum senece 125
versus de biblia
canones euangelistarum
(leaf 16a) conueniencie veteris et noui testamenti
sententie versificate
decreta versificata
cronica a tempore aduentus bastardi

[1] Nos. 247—255 in the first hand.

249 C applicaciones originalium per totam bibliam
interpretaciones biblie
250 D Extracta cum tabula super quatuor libros sententiarum
item tabule bernerdi super cantica et meditacionum
tabula diffinitionum secundum doctores
lib' aug' de spiritu et anima
sermones kilwardbẏ et Gwiberti numero 27
lib' ẏsaac de dietis et regule iuris cum tabula
epistole hildeberti cenomacensis
251 E tabula august' super Psalterium
tabula super alanum de complanctu nature
tabula super philosophiam moralem aristotelis
lib' mauricii de remedio rationis
expositio versuum difficilium
252 F Concordantia super bibliam
253 G Interpretaciones bibl(i)e secundum Remigium
254 H Distinctiones secundum ordinem alphabeti
concordancie breues ad sentencias
item quedam ars predicandi
255 I tabula originalium intitulata manipulus florum
quedam notabilia super euangelia luce
tractatus moralis ex dictis philosophorum et poetarum
tabula super libros moralium gregorii
256[1] K tabula martiniana quondam Magistri Ouerton. 2° folio *absens*
257 L Tabula super 5 libros boecii de consolacione philosophie et super 8 libros poleticorum
258 M Item tabula auctoritatum et sententiarum biblie positarum in libris decretorum et decretalium cotatarum secundum ordinem alphabeti Joh'. cad'. decretorum doctoris
259 (leaf 16b) N Summa ffratris martini penitenciarii domini .J. pape et Cappellani per modum tabule. folio secundo *propter hoc percipere*
260 M Item interpretationes biblie. 2° folio *Abidon* (?) *pater*

(leaf 17a) *Logicalia et philosophia cum scriptis et commentis*

261[2] A Textus veteris logice. 2° fo. *vno solo*
262 B Textus veteris logice. 2° fo. *indiuidua differentibus*

[1] Nos. 256 : 257, 8 : 259, 60 are entered by three hands.
[2] Nos. 261—298 except 281 and perhaps 294—6 are in one hand.

263 C Textus noue logice. 2° fo. *sermocinabimur*

264 D Textus phisicorum. 2° fo. *non habebit vllam*
Item de anima textus
Item de causis cum commento

265 E Textus phisicorum. 2° fo. *quale et quantum*
Item de sompno et vigilia
Item de sensu (et) sensato
Item de vegitabilibus et plantis
Item de anima

266 F Textus de anima. 2° fo. *quantum est rectum multa*
Item de memoria et reminiscentia
Item de sompno et vigilia
Item de morte et vita
Item de differentia spiritus et anime
Item de generatione et corrupcione
Item textus methaphẏsicarum
Item textus phisicorum
Item textus de celo et mundo

267 G Textus methaphysice cum multis aliis. 2° fo. *completa est comm.*

268 H Textus vegitabilium cum multis. 2° fo. *mox occulta*

269 I Textus methaphysice cum commento. 2° fo. *essencia*
Item de causis cum commento
Item comment' de sensu et sensato
Item de memoria et reminiscentia
Item de sompno et vigilia

270 K Commentator super 8 libros phisicorum. 2° fo. *et sic potest intelligere*
Item super libros celi et mundi

271 L Textus de animalibus. 2° fo. *et omnia animalia*
(leaf 17b) Item Magistri Ricardi de motu cordis
Item phisonomia aristotelis
Item boecius de disciplina scolarium
Item liber de conseruacione anime
Item epistola aristotelis ad allexandrum
Item prophecia hildegardis
Item willelmi de sancto amore

272 M Textus ethicorum. 2° fo. *desiderare et...*

273 N Textus ethicorum. 2° fo. *eorum que ab uno*
Item textus rethoricorum
Item textus yconomicarum

274 O Scriptum egidii super 8 libros phisicorum. 2° fo. *considerare corpora*

275 P Scriptum eiusdem super 8 libros phisicorum. 2° fo. *ea in quod mobilia*

276 Q Albertus super libros metheororum. 2° fo. *solō quouis*
Item idem de mineralibus
Item idem de animalia

277 R Summa Johannis de rupella de anima. 2° fo. *sursus est descendens*

278 S Scriptum thome super methaphisica. 2° fo. *dem visui accidit*

279 T Auctor de causis. 2° fo. *intelligencie*
Item declaraciones egidii super librum generacione. Item questiones super libros de anima
Item questiones super libros de generacione. Item summa super 8 libros phisicorum. Item notule egidii super lib'. de anima cum dubitationibus eiusdem et de generacione. Item summa super 10 li. methaphysice. Item summa abreuiata super li. phisicorum. Item egidius de pluralitate et gradibus formarum. Item thomas de esse et essentia. Item boecius de vnitate et vno. Item libellus ysaac de anima. Item epistole ypocratis de quatuor humoribus. Item compilatio propositionum libri phisicorum cum exposicione earundem. Item comment'. metaphysice abreuiat'.
Item tabula super libros de animalibus

280 U Tabula philosophie. 2° fo. *vnaqueque .d. licet autem*
(leaf 18a)

281[1] $U2^{m}$ Item questiones keluyngton' 27. 2° folio *contra āne philosophum qui dixit littera*

282 X Macrobius super somnum sipionis. 2° fo. *nescir. mal'*
Item plato in tẏmeo

283 Y Boecius de consolacione cum duplici comento. 2° fo. *tentatis*

284 Z Rabanus de naturis rerum. 2° fo. *nec diuidi potest nec*
Item omelia gregorii super ezechielem
Item pastoralia eiusdem

285 Ɨ Bartholomeus de naturis rerum. 2° fo. *diuinam essentiam*
Item liber de ligno (omcis)
Item euangelium nichodemi

[1] Added in margin.

286 lig' ꝫ Bartholomeus de naturis rerum. 2° fo. *simul et diuisim*

287 AA Egidius de regimine principum

288 AB Comentum super 8to libros phisicorum. 2° fo. *cum declarauit*

289 AC Libri senece de prouidentia dei. 2° fo. *voluptati est*
Item de remediis fortuitorum
Item de copia verborum ad beatum paulum
Item Hugo de virtute orandi
Item idem de cognicione dei per creaturas
Item idem de archa noe
Item flores ely(n)andi
Item cronographus de reuelacione inferni
Item Extracta epistolarum senece
Item secundus philosophus
Item flores tullii de officiis de senectute in parodoxis philippicis in rethorica in tusculanis
Item de legibus idem et (de) fine boni et mali
Item idem de natura deorum. Item idem de diuinacione
(leaf 18b) Item flores salustii de catillinar' et gigurto
Item flores oracii
Item flores quintilliani
Item flores senece de multis libris
Item flores cassiani cum multis aliis
Item cantica canticorum in gallico

290 AD Thomas super libros posteriorum. 2° fo. *per nomen s. d.*
Item questiones super methephysicam Magistri petri de aluernia

291 AE Thomas super libros ethicorum. 2° fo. *infra dicetur*

292 AF Henricus de ymagine mundi in capsa
Item rabanus de naturis rerum

293 AG Alegorie petri comestoris. 2° fo. *boni et mali*
Item quedam questiones morales
Item quidam sermones
Item notabilia super apocalipsim
Item Expositio super declamationes senece
Item Expositio super libros platonis de creacione mundi
Item expositio super thimeum platonis

294 AH Euklydis x libri cum commento. 2° fo. *alia ambigolium*

Item expositio super boiecium de consolacione
Item arsmetrica boiceii
295 AI Item textus ph(isicorum). 2° fo. *quantum enim*
296 AK Item boecium (*sic*) de disiplina scolarium et wallensem de breuiloquio
297 AL Commentum super libros celi et mundi. 2° fo. *non est manifestum*
Item commentum super lib' de anima
Item commentum de generatione et corupcione
Item auctor de causis cum commento
298 AM Commentum super lib' de anima. 2° fo. *monstrare ea*
(leaf 19a)
Item de substantia orbis
Item de sensu et sensato
Item de memoria et reminiscencia
Item de sompno et vigilia
299[1] AN Commune loquium philosophorum Wallensis
Item loquium philosophorum eiusdem
Item breuiloquium philosophorum eiusdem
Item Egidius de [erased]
Item tractatus de origine ordinis compilatus per ffratrem henricum de almania
Item Strategematicon Julii frontini de re militari
Item Dicta sapientum et philosophorum

Libri Magistri Johannis Erghome

300 A Porphyrii ẏsagoge
Predicamenta aristotelis
Perẏarmenias aristotelis
Aristotelis .6. principiorum
Diuisionum boecii philosophi
Topicorum quatuor libri boecii philosophi completur per literam I (?)
301 B Aristotelis libri Elenchorum. 2°
Aristotelis topicorum libri. 8°
Aristotelis priorum libri. 2°
Aristotelis posteriorum libri. 2°
302[1] libri porfirii
libri predicamentorum
libri perẏermenias
libr' principiorum
lib' diuisionum

[1] Added in the margin.

libri Topicorum boicii
libri Elencorum
libri topicorum aristotelis
libri priorum
libri posteriorum

303 C Kÿlwardebÿ super libros priorum
Idem super libros posteriorum
Idem super Topicorum

304 D Questiones super porphirium thome de pontesbur'
Questiones super predicamenta aristotelis
Questiones super perÿermenias thome de wyltoñ
Questiones super prior' Joh' de ffridaÿthorpe
Questiones super porphirium

305 E Logica Willelmi Occhame

306 F Scriptum super librum de causis
Ad sententias introitus cum quibusdam replicationibus
Sententia primi libri de questionibus armenorum
Questiones theologice

(leaf 19b) Tabula Joachim de concordantia testamentorum
Radices planetarum alphunsi
Principia okkam et conclusiones sequentes
2° questiones naturales colynham
Sophismata willelmi hetysbery 32°
Tractatus eiusdem
Questiones biland de anima
Antique questiones de anima

307 G ysagoge porphirii
Categorice aristotelis
Peryarmenias aristotelis
Topica citheronis
Topica boycii libri quatuor
liber diuisionum boycii
liber boycii añ predicamentorum
Boecius de categoricis sillogismis libri duo
Boecius de ypoteticis sillogismis libri tres

308 H Dyalectica augustini
Commentum cornuti super persium

309 I libri Elencorum 2°
libri Topicorum 8°
libri Priorum 2°
libri posteriorum 2°
libri Ethicorum 5°

310[1] K durandus super logicam
Item thomas super libros de anima incomplete
in I bag'. in panno blodio
311 L Octo libri phisicorum aristotelis
de celo et mundo libri quatuor
Metheororum libri quatuor
de generacione et corupcione libri duo
de longitudine et breuitate vite liber vnus
de vegetabilibus et plantis libri duo
de sompno et vigilia
de sensu et sensato

(leaf 20a) *ffratris Johannis Erghome doctoris*
Philosophica aristotelis.

312[2] A Textus phisicorum aristotelis 8 libri
Aristot' de celo et mundo quatuor libri
libri metheor(or)um quatuor libri
Arist' de differentia spiritus et anime
Arist' de sensu et sensato
Arist' de causis
Arist' de sompno et vigilia libri tres
Arist' de vegetabilibus et plantis
Arist' de anima libri tres
Arist' de memoria et reminicentia
Arist' de generatione et coruptione libri duo
313 B Arist' in libris metheororum in libris quatuor
Arist' de morte et vita
Arist' de vegetabilibus libri duo
Arist' de Sompno et vigilia
Arist' de differentia spiritus et anime
liber alquindi de intellectu et intellecto
Arist' de causis
Algarel' (? Algazel) de intellectu et intellecto
Arist' de anima libri tres
Arist' de memoria et reminicentia
Arist' de generatione et corupcione
Auicenn' de intellectu et intellecto
Liber de motu cordis
314 C Egidius super 8 phisicorum expositio
315 D Thome super 8° phisicorum expositio

[1] 310, 11 are added.
[2] The hands are thus divided : 312—324 : 325 : 326 : 327—337 or 8.

		Thome super primum de generatione expositio
316	D	Egidii super 2^{m} de generatione expositio
(leaf 20b)		Thome de sensu et sensato expositio
		Thome de memoria (et) reminicentia expositio
		Textus ethicorum. Item textus metaphisice
317	E	Thome super libros ethicorum scriptum
		Eiusdem super libros phisicorum scriptum
		Eiusdem super libros metaphysice scriptum
318	F	Coment' super 8 libros phisicorum
319	G	Yconomia Aristotelis cum commento
		Eustachius super 5 ethicorum
320	H	Commentum aueroÿs de anima
321	L	Tractatus breuis super 8 libros phisicorum
		Questio de aduentu messie
		tres questiones Johannis pape 22^{i} contra minores
		Resistencia minorum et eorum responsio
		Logica Ric' fferibrig' complet' et alie que(dam)
		Tractatus de anima
		Processus litis inter abbatem de Torr' et aug'
322	M	Scriptum sancti Thome super libros de anima
		Questiones super libros phisicorum
		Commentum super donatum
		5^{a} pars studii theologie Rogeri bacun
		Tractatus de visu
		Perspectiua
		Jordanus de ponderibus
323	N	Libri ethicorum arist' 10
		Coment' Eustachii super eosdem complet'
324	M	8 libri phisicorum
(leaf 21a)		de generatione et coruptione 2° libri
		de anima. tres libri
		de celo et mundo tres libri
		Metheororum libri quatuor
		de vegetabilibus et plantis 2° libri
		de sensu et sensato
		de sompno et vigilia libri tres
		de differentia spiritus et anime
		de vita et morte
325	N	Item 8 libri phisicorum arist'] 2° fo. *et posteriores*
		Item de anima tres libri]
		Item de generatione et corruptione libri 2° incomplet'
326	O	Item textus de animalibus pulcher. 2° folio. *principe puta.*

327 P Scriptum thome super 8 libros phisicorum
Script' thome super x ethicorum complet'
Egidius de generacione et corupcione
328 Q Commentum libri posteriorum secundum lincolniensem libellus questionum de potenciis anime secundum thomam de alquino
liber de perfeccione spiritualis vite secundum t.
questiones vj. librorum phisicorum secundum bonnkus
questiones xij. librorum methaphisice arist' secundum eundem
notabilitates methaphysice que fere continent script' thome super methaphisicam cum ueritate textus arist' et noue translacionis
329 R Commentum aueros super 8 libros phisicorum et xij libros metaphysice
330 S tractatus algazelis in methaphisica
liber ioachim de summis pontificibus
tractatus de musica
liber procli platonici incompletus
glose super ysaiam incomplete
331 T breuiloquium philosophorum
332 U 2m Exposicio Egidii super libros de anima
(leaf 21b) Tractatus burley de phisionomia arist'
Tractatus aueroys super de sensu et sensato
Tractatus eiusdem de memoria et reminiscencia
Tractatus eiusdem de sompno et vigilia
Tractatus eiusdem de generacione et corrupcione
Tractatus eiusdem de longitudine et brevitate vite
Tractatus eiusdem de substantia orbis
Tractatus eiusdem super li. metheororum
333 X 2m liber metheororum 4
libri de anima 3
liber de sensu et sensato 1
liber de memoria et reminiscencia 1
libri de sompno et vigilia 2
libri ethicorum secundus tercius quartus quintus sextus et septimus
334 D 4m Alexander nekham de naturis rerum
335 Y 2m Questiones sancti thome super libros de anima
336 Z Item summa Occham super logicam
337 X̶ Item quedam expositio super libros porphirii predicamentorum et peryarmenie

338 32^{m} Item boycius de consolacione philosophie 2° fo. *nunquam*

libri magistri Johannis Bukwode

339[1] Item Kervyle super libros politicorum arist' cum duobus tabulis egidii de regimine principum. tabula Johannis crisostomi. abbreuiacio prefati magistri kervyle super libros politicorum sancti thome et tabula super problemata arist' quondam magistri bukwode litera D 2° folio *generacio aliquid naturale*

340 Item lectura Ryngsted super parabolas salomonis cum tabula super eadem (*sic*). Omelie Johannis aurei cum tabula super easdem. 2° fo. *in flores thropologici* litera I (?)

341 Item lectura petri de candia super quatuor libros sententiarum fo. 2° *nam non pollent* litera C

342 Item liber sermonum dominicalium quorum primus incipit *dico ihesum christum manifestum fuisse* etc. 2° fo. *me eligere* literis ff. L.

343 Item liber qui vocatur speculum beati gregorii pape

(leaf 22a) Item liber de finitibus (fructibus (?)) penitentie 2° folio *asinas possidemus* literis R. H.

344 Item summa magistri Johannis hispani super titulos decretalium 2° fo. *ges canonibus* litera P

345 Item franciscus petrarcha ciuis florentinus poeta laureatus de remediis ad vtramque fortunam. 2° folio *summa lex* litera C

346 Item Galfridus herdby de vita ewangelica. Item Johannes de basilea de alienacione voluntaria rerum temporalium. 2° fo. *sufficit* litera E

347 Item bonauentura super p^{m} et 4^{m} sententiarum. 2° folio *ad euidenciam* litera C

348 Item parisiensis de vniuerso corporali et spirituali cum tabula. Item nicholaus tryvett super libro Aug' de ciuitate dei. folio 2° *que ei congruit* literis A S

349 Item sophismata M^{ri} Willelme de hey<ti>sbery. 2° folio *componit* uel *diuidit*

350 Item tabula Martini super decreta et decretales. Item pastoralia beati gregorii

[1] Nos. 339—360 are in a very late ugly current hand.

Item ysiderus de summo bono. folio 2° *possunt aū* litera I(?)

351 Item declamaciones senece. Item commentarium Rydevaws super metheologias fulgencii cum sermonibus diuersis et aliis. 2° folio *quod respublica* litera I(?)

352 Item liber continens multas questiones theologicas diuersorum doctorum quarum prima est an relacio vnius creature ad aliam sit ?eadem suo populo (proprio?) fundamento et vltima est vtrum seruata consuetudine ecclesie necesse sit aliquando bis pascha in vno anno celebrari. folio 2° *lacio que est* vna litera Q

353 Item lyra super pentateucum set deficit principium vsque ad 30^{m} capitulum genes'

354 Item duo quodlibeta Jacobi de Vitriaco. Item 7^{m} quodlibet' godfridi de fontibus. 2° folio *ius ad numeros* litera I(?)

355 Item Cowton super p^{m} librum sententiarum. 2° fo. *vnum per se* litera S Q

356 Item inceptor Cowton super 2^{m} 3^{m} et 4^{m}. 2° folio *inferioribus* litera C

357 Item parisiensis de ductibus. 20 fo. *virum et vxorem* litera P

358 Item quoddam......quondam Ric' thorp in papiro ligatum. 2° fo.

359 Item diuerse questiones theologice cum bona lectura super sententias. folio 2° *infinita* litera q

360 Item mathamatica albansei cum aliis 54 tractatibus astronomie. folio 2° *nam cuique* litera L

[f. 22b blank]

(leaf 23a) *Prophecie et supersticiosa.*

Libri magistri Johannis Erghom.

361[1] A Ambrosii merlini prophecie
Joachim de seminibus literarum
Joachim de oneribus prophetarum
Joachim de duobus ordinibus
Joachim de successione papali
versus cuiusdam canonici de actubus anglie

[1] Nos. 361—364 are in one hand.

multe prophecie de anglia breues
prophecia Roberti de vsecio
oraculum cirille (-i) cum exposicione ioachim
excerpciones prophetie ff. Johannis de rupescissa
prophetia iohannis de basyngneio
prophetia cibelle cum multis aliis
compendium literale petri aureole super apoc'
prophetia canonici. *ffebribus*

362 B liber sompniarii ẏbin cẏrin in 8 part' et pars in ca*pitu*la (?)
liber qui intitulatur de iudiciis astrorum
9. ẏmagines extracte de libro veneris
breuis tractatus quatuor capitulis de sompno et visione
tractatus de operibus et occultis accionibus naturalium
liber hermetis de celo et mundo distinctus in 6 partes
theorica artis magice in 56 capitulis
fflores coniunctionis veritatis Geomancie distincti in theoricam et practicam
introductorium ad Geomantiam docens terminos artis
tractatus de penthagono salomonis
tractatus ad inclusionem spiritus in speculo
opus capitis magni cum aliis capitibus pertinentibus
tractatus ymaginum secundum modum planetarum et operacionibus (?) eorum
tractatus ẏmaginum Gyrgit filie circis de opere ymaginum distinct' in theoricam et practicam
hermes de ymaginibus
idem in alio tractatu de ẏmaginibus
tractatus hyllonii (*or* kyll-) de arte ymaginum
tractatus de nominibus angelorum et effectubus eorum
vinculum salomonis

(leaf **23**b) tractatus de valeriana
tractatus de spiritu cibille
tractatus de capite saturni
liber honorii diuisus in 5 tractatus
tractatus ad habendum loquelam cum spiritu et effectum eternum
aliud opus preciosum ad magnum effectum
liber rubeus qui aliter dicitur sapientia Nigromancie
experimentum bonum sortis
tractatus fortunati eleazari de arte euthontica ydaica et epẏtolo(*gic*)a

tractatus de nominibus angelorum ordine forma et potestate et mansione
tractatus de ffloron
tractatus qui dicitur secretum philosophorum diuisum in 7 partes secundum quod pertractat 7 artes
liber veneris in tres partes diuisus
liber ẏmaginum aristotelis
tractatus hermetis de ymaginibus
alius tractatus ymaginum
excepciones horarum a ptholomeo descripte
fforme ymaginum in singulis signorum faciebus
ffinis artis notorie veteris
ars notoria noua completa
multa experimenta

363 C Expositio versuum *ffebribus infectus*
compotus abreuiatus
expositio super poetriam oracii
prophetie paparum
liber metrorum

364 D liber ymaginum lune
liber ymaginum veneris
liber radiorum
liber prestigiorum alkani philosophi
liber sacratus petri abellardi

[f. 24a blank]

(leaf 24b) *Astronomia et Astrologia.*

365[1] A Beda de temporibus. 2° fo. *cum dic' leuam*
Item idem de ordine creaturarum
Item breuiloquium pauperis

366 B Tractatus de astrolabio. 2° fo. *que est vltimus*
Item flores albumazar cum aliis
Item hermanius de iudiciis astrorum
Item quidam tractatus de multiplicacione et diuisione
Item aliud iudiciale
Item geometria wlgaris
Item hermanius de compositione astrolabii et eius officio
Item theorica halcōn

[1] In the same hand as what precedes, continuing to 394, except where otherwise noted.

Item quidam tractatus de terminis theorice

Item introductorium alkabucii

367[1] C Canones profatii iudei super Almanak

368 D Astrolabium cum omnibus climatibus

libri magistri Johannis Erghome

369 A Kalendarium lincolniensis cum canonibus eiusdem

Tabule gerlandi cum aliis

compotus manualis magistri bawdewyni

Tabule sancti bede doctoris

Tractatus algorismi

Tractatus de spera de bosco

Ars veteris quadrantis

Ars astrolabii et eius practica

Theorica planetarum

Canones tabularum arz<ach>elis

Thebit de ẏmagine spere

Tebith de expositione ante almagestum

Haly de dispositione aeris

Tabule arzel' super meridiem tholeti

370 B Tabula et theorica planetarum haltoñ

(leaf 25a) Expositio terminorum in astrologia eiusdem

Tabule alfonsi abreuiate super meridiem oxoñ cum canonibus

almanach Johannis danowe cum canonibus

Equatorium abbreuiatum cum canonibus badcomb

371 C Tractatus prefacii (pro-) de quadrante

Algorismus in integris cum commento

Algorismus minuciarum

Tabule prefacii cum canone

Tabule Johannis mauduth

Cronica secundum ciclos magnos

Quadripartitum trimogesti

Ars notoria

Tractatus de coloribus et eorum distemperatione

fflos naturalium gebery

Experimenta naturalia philosophorum

primus liber quadripartiti tholomei

signaciones natiuitatum secundum signa

Phisonomia trium auctorum

Ciromancia

[1] In another hand.

372[1] C 2^{m} Tabula astronomie in quo continetur
Item theorica planetarum
Item tractatus de expositione terminorum instrumenti (?) et (? canones) tabularum per haltoñ

373 D Astrologia marciani
Lincoln' de spera
Theorica planetarum
Canones et theorica Rogeri herfordensis
Tractatus moralis de Numeris
Thome de virtutibus (?) tractatus
Eiusdem de esse et essentia
Item eiusdem tractatus contra aueroÿs de vnitate intellectus
Commentum aueroÿs super librum de morte et vita
Comment' eiusdem super de sensu et sensato
Comment' eiusdem super de memoria et reminic'
Probatio .6. opinionum dampnatarum oxonie contra cancellarium parys'
tractatus de motu cordis
(leaf 25b) Sancti augustini liber de anima
Liber de practica geometrie
Declaratio canonum astronomie

374 E centologium tholomei
introductoriis alkabuzii
Zael' de interrogacionibus
Zael' de eleccionibus
mezelath in epistola
messalak de eclipsi. et comment'
liber de significationibus planetarum in 12 domibus
tractatus de cogitatione et inuencione
Japhar de tempore et tempestatibus
Liber de obsidione vrbium
De eleccionibus et mansionibus lune
Julii ffruniti (firmici) quatuor libri

375 F Liber tebyth de ymaginibus
liber lune de ÿmaginibus
liber veneris de ÿmaginibus
lib' 7 planetarum de ÿmaginibus
liber ptolomei de ÿmaginibus
Epistola messalach de ÿmaginibus coniunccionum
Alkindus de impressionibus

[1] Added in the margin.

		Halý de subradiis planetarum
		Philosophia w. de Conchis
		Pronostica socratis basilei
		Experimenta naturalia multa
		Sen(tenti)a biblie versificata
		Experimenta .11. (*or* ii) in fine
376	G	Prima pars summe Johannis de asschdene
		Epistole Johannis lemonicensis
377	H	Secunda pars summe Johannis de asschdene
378[1]	I	Item equatorium quondam Magistri Ric' thorpe
(leaf 26a)		Albumazar de coniunccionibus magnis
		Centilogium Tholomei cum commento halý
		processus tholomei in suo almagesthý
		liber alkasen de reuolutionibus natiuitatum in 22 capitulis
		liber de inten*tioni*bus secretorum astronomie capitula 12
		tractatus Willelmi anglici medici capitula 9
379 = 121	K	massa compoti
		Nicholaus de lira contra iudeum de verbis euangelii
		anselmus inter christianum et gentilem
		Willelmus de sancto amore
		tractatus theologicus
		Postille super ecclesiasten optime
		Postille super prouerbia optime
		Albertus de mineralibus
		versus super decreta
		prophecia merlini
380	L	Tractatus prefacii de nouo quadrante
		tabula declinacionis versificata
		tabula differentie ascensionum vniuerse terre
		tabula vmbre
		tabula equacionis 12 domorum ad latitudinem 52 graduum
		questiones quedam et eclipses solis et lune
		tabula equatorum prefacii
		tractatus geomancie
		tractatus ciromancie
		theorica planetarum
		thebit in perambulis (preamb.-) ad almagesti
		tractatus quadrantis breuis

[1] Added.

tractatus chÿlindri
kalendarium necessarium
spera pictagore
Iudicia astronomie et theoremata necessaria
liber florum albumasaris
(leaf 26b) Capitula 50^{a} iudiciorum
liber introductorius geomancie
381 M tractatus de ratione calcule
kalendarium tabulatum
compotus hererici
ÿginius de ffigura celi
liber juuenalis
382 N tractatus albÿon secundum abbatem
canones super tabulam alphonsi
tabule abbatis cum equacionibus .6.
canones super easdem tabulas
383 O vacta (-ca) platonis
Quedam experimenta
liber mamned algurizym de algebre et almucabula
quadripartitus tholomei de iudiciis astrorum
centilogium tholomei cum commento halÿ
abhohalÿ de natiuitatibus
tractatus Geomancie
duo tractatus de memoria
tractatus thebitben carat de ÿmaginibus
tractatus belleni de ÿmaginibus
liber ÿmaginum tholomei
liber ÿmaginum secundum planetas
liber loelleni de sigillis planetarum
quedam experimenta alkemie
aque tincture cum aliis experimentis
tabula astrònomie
practica geometrie et arsmetrice
384 P Introductorius maior albumazar continens 8 tractatus
385 Q liber sapientie abrahe auene(s)re in 10 capitulis
(leaf 27a) liber de rationibus abrahe auene(s)re
tractatus zael. de temporibus quando res fiet in 10 capitulis
liber experimentorum medicinalium ex diuersis auctoribus aggregatus
centilogium bethemie
liber abrahe auene(s)re in natiuitatibus et reuolutionibus

de interrogationibus abrahe auenefre (-sre) iudei

liber eiusdem abrahe de eleccionibus

practica Geomancie magistri bartholomei

tractatus de figuratione figurarum Geomancie in singulis domibus

liber zael israelite de eleccionibus

albumazar in libro experimentorum et sunt quatuor capitula cum suis differentiis

tractatus continens .6. differentias et incipit' *eleccionibus indorum*

liber zael super interrogacionibus in duobus libris cum suis capitulis

libri alkindi de radiis et intitulatur theorica artis magice

liber consecracionum

tabula veri motus lune et tabula 28 mansionum

tractatus ex libris aristotelis de animalibus in 13 titulos distinctus

liber Alhandrei de Judiciis astrologie in 17 capitulis

liber Aristo[to]telis de parti*culari*bus (?) questionibus

tractatus Geomancie in .6. differenciis cum suis capitulis

386 I 2^m Tabula astronomie

albumazar de floribus

excepciones eiusdem de coniunccionibus magnis

sentilogium tholomei cum commento halý

alkasen in reuolucionibus annorum

de intentionibus secretorum astronomie

387[1] I 3^m Excerpta summe Johannis de aschdene de astrologia in paupiro

388 C 3^m Expositiones haly super expositionem 4^{ti} tholomei

Quedam calculaciones notabiles

conclusiones herdby et aliorum doctorum

389[2] thorp' D 2^m Summa Magistri Johannis de aschdene

390 E 2^m Comentum haly super quadripartitum tholomei

391 F 2^m Profacii Almanak cum alio tractatu in fine de composi(ci)one instrumentorum

392 G 2^m Tractatus Albyon secundum Abbatem

393 H 2^m Item liber abrahe de reuolutionibus natiuitatum

Item arsmetrica Jordani

[1] 387 added : 388 in another hand.

[2] 389—394 in two hands of cent. xv.

394 I 2^m Compotus usualis Gerlandi
Compotus naturalis eiusdem
Tractatus Magistri Gerland de abaco. de numeris uel de arte metrica
Expositio Rychmachie (Rithmomachie) } cum compositione tabule etc.
Tractatus minuciarum }
Plures figure de mappa mundi et aliis

(leaf 27b) *Instrumenta Astrologica magistri Johannis Erghome*

I	A	Horologium auricalcium	venalia
II	B	Astrolabium cum 7 laminis	venalia
III	C	Quadrans prefacii iudei	venalia
IV	D	Spera auricalcea	venalia
V	E	Clok eneum	venalia
VI	G	Astrolabium	venalia

(leaf 28a) *Libri diuini officii magistri iohannis Erghome*

395 Breuiarium completum pro itinere (venditur)
396 Breuiarium aliud completum pro studio magnum (venditur)
397 Item vnum diurnale (perditur)
398 Item vnum missale completum (traditur sacriste)
399 item vnum missale manuale (sacriste)
400 Pontificale (sacriste)

[f. 28b blank]

(leaf 29a) *Jura ciuilia*

401[1] A Instituta. 2° fo. *suis locis*
402 B Textus degest' veteris. 2° fo. *tercii insuper anni*
403 C Liber de legibus anglie. 2° fo. *quiori et maiori*
404 D Instituta cum apparatu. 2° fo. *accipiant*
405 E Summa brocardica. 2° fo. *vnus*

Libri magistri Johannis Erghome

406 A 2^m Instituta cum paruo volumine
407 B Digestum vetus
408 C Digestum vetus et inforciatum
409 D Digestum nouum
410 E Glosa acursii super iura

[1] 401—405 in the first hand.

411	F	Codex cum glosa. Item alius sine glosa
412	G	Libellus domini Romfridi de iure ciuili
		Item libellus eiusdem de iure canonico
413	C 2^{m}	Digestum vetus
414[1]	A 3^{m}	Instituta. 2° fo. *constituit uel cognoscens*
		[f. 29b blank]

(leaf 30a) *Jura canonica et leges humane magistri Joh' Erghom*

415	A	Summa Raÿmundi
416	B	Decreta papalia et consilia generalia
417	C	Statuta consilii generalis
		versus notabiles secundum ordinem alphabeti
418	D	leges et statuta anglie
		tractatus qui incipit *feit asauere*
		summa hengham magna
		summa *cadit assisa*
		summa *cum sit necessarium*
		summa hengham parua
		Judicium essoniorum
		excerpciones ad cassandum breuia
		tractatus de Bastardÿa
		tractatus corone
		placita corone
419	E	Itinerarium iusti(ci)ariorum anglie
420	F	Cursus in curia romana in cancelaria
		ars dictaminis in 7 partibus
		forme iudiciorum et supplicaciones
421	G	Leges anglie tempore regis henrici
		Summa de ordine iudiciorum
422	H	Summa Galfridi
423	I	Quinque libri decretalium Glosati
424	K	Sextus decretal' cum glosa cardinalis
		constituciones octoboni
		constituciones octonis
		constituciones senodales ebor'
		Glosa Johannis andree supra 6^{m} decretalium
		W. de mandagoto supra electionibus
(leaf 30b)		constituciones curie eboracensis
425	L	summa confessionum
426	M	Libellus Romfridi in iure canonico
		2° summa excepcionum innocencii quarti

[1] 414 added.

3° lectura super extrauagantes
4° Gemma Juris continens tres particulas
427[1] N Reportorium durandi
428 O Sextum decretalium cum constitucionibus clementis. 2° fo. *ex patre et filio*

(leaf 31a) *Jura canonica*

429[2] A Decreta cum apparatu. 2° fo.
430 B Quinque libri decretalium cum apparatu. 2° fo. *de fidelibus*
Item constituciones innocencii cum glosa
431 C Item textus decretalium. 2° fo. *viuos et mortuos*
432 D Textus decretalium. 2° fo. *ficiis inquieuit*
433 E Textus decretalium sine principio. 2° fo. *et alumne*
434 F Apparatus bernardi super decretales. 2° fo. *minus suis literis*
435 G Casus bernardi super decretales. 2° fo. *coram uel iudice*
436 H Decretales pauperum. 2° fo. *respondemus*
Item quatuor libri de legibus anglicanis
437 I Sextus liber decretalium. 2° fo. *cum sint*
Item septimus decretalium
Item glosa Johannis andree super sextum
Item constituciones occoboni
Item constituciones lamethe
Item inter questiones et quodlibeta al
438 K Constituciones clementis cum apparatu. 2° fo. *fidei catholice*
439 L Rosarium. 2° fo. 10. *de. et p.*
440 lig' M Summa summarum. 2° fo. *resurrecionem* (?)
441 N fformilaria curie de officio notarii. 2° fo. *capellaīarum* (?)
Item dictamen magistri laurenc' de aquileg'
442[3] O Summa Raymundi. 2° fo. *dubitetur*
443 P Casus decretorum
442 O Summa Raymundi. 2° fo. *non dubitetur*
(leaf 31b)
443 P Casus decretorum. 2° fo. *non debet et h° pt* corrected to *reprehendenda*

[1] 427, 428 added. [2] 429—443 in the first hand.
[3] 442, 443 erased and rewritten on 31b by the first hand.

444[1] lig'	Q	Oculus sacerdotis. 2° fo. *Reddere quam*
445	R	Textus nouarum decretalium. 2° fo. *x. litteris etc.*
446	S	Summa gaūfridi super titulis decretalium
447	T	Sextus liber decretalium cum apparatu
448	U	Textus decretorum incomplet'. 2° fo. *ab eo a quo etc.*
449	X	Pupilla oculi.

[f. 32a blank]

(leaf 32b) *Auctores et philosophi extranei*

Libri magistri ioh' Erghome

450 A boecius de consolatione philosophie 5 libri
boecius de disciplina scolarium
egidius de gradibus formarum
451 B Macrobius in saturnalibus
tullius de vera amicicia
tullii inuectiuarum libri quatuor
correctorium biblie
452 C mercurius trimegestus de natura deorum
apuleus de demon(i)o socratis
liber de institutione vniuersitatis
compotus magistri Rogeri herford'
theorica arcium magicarum
iudicia astronomie magistri Rogeri herford'
tractatus de gradubus et graduacione medicinarum
tractatus de fraccionibus wlgaribus et phi(losophi)cis
tractatus paruus de wlgari Judicio sermonis
theorica planetarum
canones equacionum planetarum
compositio saphie super tholomeum
compositio astrolabii particularis
453 D Philosophia petri abelardi
philosophia eiusdem secundum ordinem questionum
tractatus simplicis medicine secundum hildeg'
Genecie muscionis
epistola de obliuione
tractatus de coitu
epistola ypocratis de flegbotomia
epistola ypocratis de pronosticis egritudinis
tractatus de modo medendi
tractatus cirurgie
comedie terencie numero .6.

[1] 444—449 added in two hands of cent. xv.

454 E seneca de quatuor virtutibus
(leaf 33a) seneca de remediis fortuitorum
prouerbia senece
prouerbia doctorum
morale dogma philosophorum
declaraciones quedam
Epistola Sathane cum rescripto

455 F expositio super astrologiam marciani
demonstraciones geometrice
domonstraciones super diuersitatem locorum habitabilium
miletus de curvis lineis tractatus 3
ptholomeus de proiectione spere in plano
canones super tabulas alphonsi
Jordanus de motu in circulo super tebÿth
demonstracio in astrolabium
ptholomeus de speculis libri duo
archimenides de quadratura parabole
henricus de ymagine mundi
W. de chonchis in prima philosophia
tractatus de diuisione scientiarum
summa Johannis de pontefract'

456 G philosophia magistri Rogeri de plagis mundi
experimenta alberti
hericocedron walteri monachi de alk(imia)
tractatus euerardi de transformacione metall'
hermes cum commento ortolani
opus maius continens 6 libros
opus apertum continens 7 libros
amphorisma meriesili
liber alberti de alkenemia
liber archillei
liber luminarium Rasis .2.
quid pro quo

457 H morale dogma philosophorum
(leaf 33b) prouerbia senece
odo in numero ternario

458 I tractatus de modo versificandi
tractatus de accentu
tullius de officiis quatuor libri
Marcianus de nupciis duo libri
liber alphragani de astrologia
quedam pars arismetrice

		macer de viribus herbarum
		liber de naturis lapidum
		phisonomia in versubus
459	K	tymeus platonis cum commento calcidii
460[1]	L	epistole cassiodori senatoris
461	M	epistole alquini .90.
462	N	epistole senece .90.
		libellus de contemptu mortis
		historia de capcione ierusalem
		liber equiuocorum. *Dactili* (-*e*)
		dicta secundi philosophi
		epistole petri blesensis
		liber hugonis de institucione Nouiciorum
463	O	Cena cipriani
		tres epistole
		epistole lamberti optime dictate
		item duo sermones eiusdem
		tractatus orationis anne in tribus distinccionibus
		item epistola alexandri ad aristotelem
		tractatus de spera
		canones astronomie
(leaf 34a)		Commentum super tractatum de spera
		duo tractatus medicine
		expositio super arte amatoria noua
464	P	dialectica, Rethorica, Geometria, arsmetrica } Marciani
		ars interpretandi so(m)pnia
		canones astronomie
		thebyt de motu octaue spere
		thebyt in preambulis almagesti
465	Q	tractatus de dictis et operibus philosophorum
		collaciones .6. in philosophiam
		versus de bellis anglie et troge
		Epistole Johannis lemouicensis 20^{ti}
		epistole hÿldeberti episcopi
		tractatus Galteri de trinitate
		liber theologie eiusdem
		tractatus cÿromancie
466	R	liber hebraice scriptus

[1] Royal MS. 8. B. xix.

467 S timeus platonis
epistola de ortu scientiarum
theorica planetarum
flores albumazar
sentologium ptholomei
excerpta introductorii R. herfordens'
excerpta halÿ de eleccionibus horarum
liber Japhar de imbribus
experimenta medicinalia cum tractatu aquarum
tractatus proportionum
tractatus de ciclis solari et lunari
ars dictandi in metro

468 T palladius de agricultura libri 13^{cim}
(leaf 34b) vegecius de re militari libri quatuor

469 U vitruuii de architectura libri 10
ars cÿromancie completa in 8 capitulis
ars cÿromancie alia completa in multis capitulis
phisonomia magistri roberti de Burgo in 14^{cim} capitulis
experimenta extracta de libro intitulato de fructibus planetarum

Grammatica

470 A liber qui dicitur vnus omnium. 2° fo. *mutuo cum miculo*
(leaf 35a)
Item accentarius
Item liber qui incipit *anglia quo fulget*
Item encherideon galfridi de vino saluo
Item liber equiuocorum
Item *templum dei sanctum est*
Item lecciones mortuorum glosati
Item liber marboti de lapidibus
Item liber merarii
Item liber distigii
Item commentarius magistri iohannis de garlandia
Item liber diccionarii

471[1] B Ouidius methamorfosios. 2° fo. *non celerata*

472 C Huguicio. 2° fo. *cogitat periculum*

473 D Gressismus. 2° fo. *dicendo naues*
Item magnum doctrinale

[1] 471—474 in the first hand.

474 E Tractatus guydonis de modo dictandi. 2° fo. *nam fastidium*
Item summa boncompagni de modo dictandi

Libri Magistri Johannis Erghome

475 A Precianus in maiori volumine
476 B Precianus in minori volumine. 2° *libri*
Precianus de accentu
Precianus de Tropis et ffiguris
Boecius de disciplina scolarium
Petrus helyas absoluta
477 C P(r)etrus helyas super precianum in maiore
P(r)etrus helyas super precianum in minore
478[1] C 2m Item hugucio incipiens per M lit' [vsque in finem] in 7 quaternis
479 D Absoluta petri helie
(leaf 35b) Scriptum super principium donati
Tractatus Malcholini super logicam
Obligaciones valde vtiles
Tractatus intencionum generalium prepositionum
Judicamenta prepositionum magistri Alani
Liber medicinalis de regimine infirmi
Versus medicinales optime compilati
Tractatus logicalis bonus
Alius tractatus de sillogismo et conuersione propositionum
Tractatus sancti thome de esse et essentia
Liber aristotelis de motu animalium
Liber aristotelis de coloribus
Boecius de vnitate et vno
Secreta secretum aristotelis
Tractatus de spera
Questiones grammaticales
480 E Magnum doctrinale alex' nequam
Grecismus ebra(r)di
Stella maris Johannis de Garlandia
Boecius de disciplina scolarium
vnus omnium *comoda dicemus*
hympni glosati
481 F vita ffrancisci
Anteclaudianus Alani

[1] 478 added.

Epistola valerii ad rufinum cum commento
liber Hermanni de essentiis
482 G Claudius claudianus de raptu proserpine
Ouidii de ponto tres libri
Ouidii de tristibus quinque libri
Ouidii de arte amandi tres libri
ẏlias magistri symonis 2 libri
483 H Ouidius methamorphoseos 15 libri
(leaf 36a)
484 I pm Item claudius claudianus in Ruphinum
idem de bello Gyldonico
idem in eutropium 3 libri
idem fescennina de nuptiis honorii
idem epytalamium de nupciis honorii
idem panegericum de tertio consulatu
idem in eundem de quarto consulatu dictus
idem panegericus theodoro dictus
idem de consulatu stilliconis tres libri
idem
idem
idem epẏgrammata eiusdem solitas
item Bernardi megacosmus et microcosmus
485[1] I 2m claudius claudianus in Rufinum
486 K Gesta alexandri magni libri 10
487 L Oracius in odis libri quatuor
idem in poetria
idem in epodon
idem sermonum libri duo
idem epistolarum libri duo
488 M Epigrammata marcii valerii libri 15
Epẏgrammata prosperi super sententias augustini
489 N Cosmographia et michrochosmus bernardi silvestris libri duo
eiusdem versus de paricida
versus de sancta maria egipciaca
versus de contemptu presentis vite
versus hugonis de camphora
Descripcio pannorum
Situla tyrannidis in rithmo
versus de milite ciue et vxore
versus de susanna

[1] 485 added.

comedia vitalis de amphitrione
versus de paupertate et anxietate
versus de ruina rome
(leaf 36b) versus de infortunio
causa de homine occidente vnum filium
passio sancti vincentii martiris
passio thebee legionis mauricii sociorumque eius
passio sancte ffidis virginis et martiris
passio sancte agnetis virginis et martiris
vita sancti alexi romani
de troia versus optimi
causa cuiusdam
causa alterius
versus mirabiles de amore
versus de Jona propheta
oracio ad deum in metro
oracio ad beatam virginem in rithmo
epistola presbiteri Johannis

490 O De monacho cum vxore capto
De sancto Nemine
confessio Golie
apocalipsis Golie
excommunicacio golie pro pileo suo
contentio inter vinum et aquam
Rithmus contra nupcias
Rithmus *quondam fuit factus*
Genealogia deorum
Integumenta methos
mithologie fulgenc'
declaraciones mithologie
sintillarium poetarum
poemata historialia

491 P alanus in anteclaudiano libri 10
item de conuersione thaÿs
item vita sancti andree apostoli

492 Q Prudencius in ympnis
prudencius in sichomachia
prudencius in aureola maRni (? amartigenia)

493[1] R Architrenius libri 10
(leaf 37a) ouidius de vetula libri 3
centones virgilii per probam

[1] Now Cotton MS. Vespasian B. xxiii.

		alanus de complanctu nature
		ffabule ysopi
		Exidium troianum
		Enigmata symphosii
494[1]	R 2^{m}	fflores poetarum
495	S	Junii iuuenalis libri 5
		comment' complet' super eiusdem
		comment' super poetriam horacii
		poetria horacii
		sermones horacii libri duo
		hemerinus de diccionibus grecis
496	T	hugucio de nouo modo versificatus
		tabula super eundem
497	U	hugucio de alio modo versificandi
		tabula super eundem
498	X	Sedulii libri 3
		aratoris libri 2
499	Aa	Kalendarium in ouidium de fastis
		Ouidii de fastis .6. libri
		ouidius in ybin
		ouidius de arte amandi 3 libri
		ouidius de remedio amoris 2 libri
		Pamphilius de arte amandi
500	Ab	capitula Georgicorum et eneÿdorum virgilii
		versus duodecim sapientum de operibus virgilii et aliis
		Eneÿda virgilii in prosa
		hystoria daretis frigii
		Bucolica virgilii
		Georgica virgilii 4 libri
		Eneida virgilii 12 libri
(leaf 37b)		liber virgilii de ludo iuuenili
		dire virgilii
		de est et non
		de institucione viri boni
		de Rosis nascentibus
		de moreto et aliis
501	Ac	Commentum seruii super Eneÿda
		Commentum cuiusdam super Georgica
502	Ad	liber. Incipit *liber* eiusdem (?) *q^{o} m^{a}* (commoda) *dicemus*

[1] 494 added.

		liber sẏnonomorum *Ad mare*
		liber vrbani danielis *moribus ornari*
		liber Thobie incipit *ex agro veteri*
		algorismus versificatus
		item tractatus qui incipit *qui bene wlt*
		paruum doctrinale
		Compotus
503	Ae	Poetria noua Galfridi
		sedullius in carmine pascali
		oracius in epistolis
504	Aff	liber accentarii Johannis Garlandie
		item liber misteriorum eiusdem
		liber percii
		liber equiuocorum
		liber quinti sereni
		macer de viribus herbarum
505	Ag	Compendium grammatice iohannis Garlandie
		accentarium eiusdem
		encheridion synomorum Galteri
		liber peniten^{ii}
		excerpta remigii super missam
506	Ah	Ouidius de ponto
		Bernardus metricus de contemptu mundi 3 libri
507	Aj	eneyda virgilii libri duodecim
(leaf 38a)		bucolica virgilii
		Georgica virgilii libri quatuor
		Sintillarium poetarum
508	Ak	Epistole heroidum ouidii
		super librum in ybin
		super librum catonis
		super librum auiani
		super ouidium de ponto
		super methamorphoseos ouidii
		super libros fastorum ouidii
		epistole horacii
509	Al	Equiuoca mathei vindocinensis
		compendium Johannis de Garlandia
		cespitat in phaleris
		tractatus de prepositionibus grecis
		lectura super Johannicium
		rogerina maior
510	Am	Tragedia prima senece
		tabula super libros senece

liber de fato et fortuna
epistole senece ad paulum et econtra
tractatus grammaticalis
algorismus versificatus
obiecciones contra donatum
ioh' (de) Garlandia de mirabilibus mundi
ouidius de mirabilibus mundi
compendium Gramatice Joh' de Garlandia
exposiciones super epistolas oracii
511 As (*sic*) capitula super stacii thebaidos
10 libri stacii thebaidos
512 Ao Marcianus de nupciis mercurii
Ouidii methamorphoseos libri 15
513[1] lig' Ap Catholicon
514 Aq Tractatus de preteritis et suppinis
Donatus cum verbis ano[r]malis
Tractatus de forma puerorum
Tractatus de loquela communi
Tractatus de nominibus ethro^{te}
Tractatus de introduccione puerorum
verbale
Nominale
libellus equiuocorum
libellus sinonomorum. 2° fo. *presto quod est* a.q.
515[2] g 3^{m} Quoddam compendium grammaticale de tropis et figuris cum quadam exposicione certorum verborum totius biblie
516 AR Item exposiciones vocabulorum extraneorum biblie in alio volumine
517 AK Item macrobius de sompno scipionis. 2° folio *iam*

Rethorica

518 Ap tabula poetarum
(leaf 38b) liber catonis
liber theodoli
liber auiani
liber maxi(miani)
liber claudiani de raptu proserpine
stacii achilleidos libri 5
commentum bernardi super theodolum

[1] 513 added: 514 added in upper margin.
[2] 515—517 added in upper margin.

venditur	Aq	Catholicon completum pulcrum valde *erased*
519	Ar	Excerpta ex libris valerii maximi
		excerpta suetonii de vita cesarum
		excerpta solini de mirabilibus mundi
		excerpta Justini super trogum
		excerpta ex libro agelii noxium (noctium) atticarum
		versus de cesaribus
		ouidii de fastis libri 6
		fabule ysopi libri tres
		sentencie a diuersis philosophis collecte et specialiter senece

Libri magistri Johannis Erghome in Rethorica

520	A	Tullii vetus rethorica duo libri
		Tullii Rethorica noua quatuor libri
		boecii Rethorica vnus liber
521	B	Senece declamationes cum expositione Treueth
522	C	Diuisio scientiarum boneauenture
		alia diuisio scientiarum
		petrus de vineis in epistolis
		tractatus promulis (?) de competen^{ti} dictamine
		exemplaria eiusdem de dictamine
		guido fabe de dictamine
		exemplaria eiusdem Gwidonis
		tractatus de modo dictandi
		[Two leaves cut out]

(leaf 39a) *Medicina*

Libri magistri Johannis Erghome

523		liber Johannicii
		ẏpochras in alphorismis
		liber pronosticorum
		liber vrinarum theophili
		liber pulsuum philaretis
		Thegny Galieni
		de regimine acutorum
		ysaak de vrinis
		ysaak de febribus
		dieta vniuersalium
		dieta particularium
524	B	Galienus magathegni
		Galienus de malincolia complexionis diuerse

aueroys de questionibus et anathomia
tractatus qui incipit *attende ante quam*
Galienus de simplici medicina libri 5
Galienus de chreticis diebus libri 3
Galienus de chrÿsi libri 3
Galienus de interioribus
525 C primus canonis auicenne
526 D lectura iohannis de sancto amando super antidodarium nicholai
tractatus de oculo
527 E tegni Galieni cum commento haly 3 partes
alphorisma ypocratis cum commento galieni 7 partes
pronostica ypocratis cum commento galieni 3 partes
regimen acutorum ypocratis cum commento galieni
528 F antidodarius Nicholai
practica Galteri
summa Gerardi de modo medendi et ordine
tractatus de ratione inuencionis compositarum medicinarum
529 G Cirurgia magistri Willelmi placentini
530 H Egidius de vrinis cum commento
liber vrinarum ÿsaak
(leaf 39b) colliget aueroÿs 7 tractatus
commentum Gylberti super vrinas egidii
tractatus alberti de diuisione scientiarum
canticum auicenne cum commento aueroÿs
liber pulsuum egidii cum commento
531 I Bernardus de conseruacione vite humane
sÿnonoma herbarum
Gerardus super viaticum
experimenta medicine
532 K lectura petri lucratoris super librum amforismorum
questiones super 7 librum viatici
textus amforismorum cum commento galieni
Glosille super Johannicium
533 M libri Galieni de morbo et accidente
libri Galieni de crisi
libri Galieni de creticis diebus
lectura thadei super amphorismos ÿpocratis
534 N Glosule super antidodarium cum quadam practica speciali
Gerardus super viaticum
colliget aueroÿs

535 O liber platearii de simplicibus medicinis
libellus qui Incipit *cum medicinalis*
libellus de aquis oleis cirupis clistribus etc.
rogerina maior incipit *sunt ab antiquis*
liber viatici constantini
Gerardus super viaticum
de conseruacione sanitatis
tractatus de simplicibus medicinis
trotula maior de secretis mulierum
[a line erased]

536 P lectura cum questionibus super libros de accidente et morbo
lectura super tres libros febrium galieni
lectura super libros Galieni de interioribus
questiones ordinarie extense 68
require residuum ex altera parte litera Q

Medicina

537[1] (leaf 40a) A Albertus de nutrimento et nutrito. 2° fo. *diuersitatis*
Item idem
Item idem
Item platearius
Item auicenna de simplicibus medicinis
Item plinius de eisdem
Item constancius (-tinus) de simplicibus medicinis
Item tabula simplicis medicine
Item lib' quatuor doctorum syrurgie
Item nature herbarum per literas alphabeti

538 Q practica magistri bartholomei
glosule platearii super antidodarium
summa magistri Gerardi
medicine locales multe
practica pl(at)earii
Cirurgia

539 R Pantegni constantini libri 10

540 S Summa iohannis serapionis libri 7
synonoma serapionis
practica Rogeri
Gerardus de modo medendi

[1] 537 in the first hand: 538—541 in the "Erghom" hand: 542—544 added.

541 T halẏ de disposicione regali incomplet'
542 U Item egidius de vrinis et viaticum constantini
543 X liber Megategni et platearium constantini
544 Y Item textus naturalis philos(o)phie. 2° folio *Talis cruda*

[f. 40b blank]

(leaf 41a) *Hẏstorie et Cronice*

hystorie scolastice ponuntur iuxta biblias

545[1] ligat' A Hẏstoria ecclesiastica. 2° fo. *nobiliter astruxere*
546 B Prima pars speculi historialis a primo libro vsque 10^m inclusiue
547 C Secunda pars eiusdem ab vndecimo vsque 16 inclusiue
548 D Tercia pars eiusdem a .17. vsque ad 24^t vsque ad finem
549 E Gẏldas de gestis britonum. 2° fo.
Item policronica a quarto vsque in finem
Item tabula super policronicam
550 F Cronica martiniana. 2° fo. *ẏtalus rex ad iaūum*
551 G Legenda sanctorum. 2° fo.
552 H Passio sancti thome. 2° fo.
Item sermones doctrinales
Item lotarius de miseria condicionis humane
Item sermones de beata virgine cum aliis
Item omelie beati gregorii
553 I Gesta britonum. 2° fo. *plicabitur*
554 K Gesta britonum. 2° fo. *impetu*
Item de aduentu horsi et hyngesti
Item parabole salomonis glosate
555 L Petrus in aurora de historiis biblie versificatis. 2° fo. *incipiens ab ada*
Item concordancie vsque g. literam
556 M legenda sanctorum. 2° fo. *aduentus domini*

[f. 41b blank: a leaf cut out after it]

(leaf 42a) *Sermones et materie sermonum*

557[2] lig' A Nouum opus doctrinale Waldeby. 2° fo. *venti et irruerunt*
558 lig' B Nouum opus eiusdem de sanctis. 2° fo. *durati sed pharao*

[1] 545—555 in the first hand: 556 added.
[2] 557—593 in the first hand.

559	C	Nouum opus doctrinale eiusdem. 2° fo. *vt habetur rationis*
560	D	Nouum opus eiusdem de sanctis. 2° fo. *super terram*
561	E	Sermones ianuensis. 2° fo. *turbarum p°*
562	F	Sermones guydonis. 2° fo. *ad me vnde*
563 lig'	G	Sermones guydonis. 2° fo. *suum vicar(i)um*
		Item tractatus breuis de canone
		Item magna carta anglie
		Item extracta de decretalibus
		Item tractatus de oculo morali
		Item simbolum waldeby
		Item quedam compilatio sermonum
		Item quaternus in gallico
		Item fabule ysopi versificate
		Item epistola satane
564	H	Sermones *losensis* (*over erasure*). in 2° fo. *ecce syon*
565	I	Sermones. 2° fo. *hec est arca*
566	K	Sermones. 2° fo. *super femur suum*
567	L	Sermones. 2° fo. *tua est 9ª caym*
		Item innocencius de articulis fidei et de vera uita
568	M	Sermones. 2° fo. *nn̄s uel labor*
569	N	Sermones. 2° fo. *non abiciamus ea*
570	O	Sermones. 2° fo. *dei sum id quod sum*
571	P	Sermones. 2° fo. *secundum est consolationis*
572	Q	Sermones. 2° fo. *lege naturale*
573	R	Sermones 2° fo. *sequitur et tenebras*
574[1]	S	Waldeby super orationem dominicam et aue Maria. 2° folio *Influente*
575	T	Sermones. 2° fo. *rex tuus venit*
576	U	Sermones. 2° fo. *est de quo*
577	X	Sermones *templum domini.* 2° fo. *pedibus igitur*
578	Y	Sermones *uox precessit.* 2° *prelatus sit humilis*
579	Z	Sermones *templum domini.* 2° fo. *prouidendum est*
580	Z	Sermones *letetur cor.* 2° fo. *tociens inclinabas*
581 (leaf 42b)	AA	Sermones *hora est.* 2° fo. *socii enim beniani. nube tegitur*
582	AB	Sermones. 2° fo. *est humilitatis*
		Item in principio versus de phisica (?)
583	AC	Sermones de articulis fidei. 2° fo. *fidus inquam deus*
584	AD	Summa viciorum et virtutum. 2° fo. *tanguntur que sunt*

[1] 574 written over erasure.

585 AE Summa virtutum. 2° fo. *dias vt in 3° sententiarum*
586 AF Distincciones bromzard'. 2° fo. *qui predictis modis*
587 AG Exortaciones bromzard'. 2° fo. *de qua in Psalmo*
588 AH Distincciones mauricii. 2° fo. *manum sub osella*
589 AI Waldebẏ super 7 Psalmos penitenciales. 2° fo. *cum ad laborandum*
590 AK Waldeby super oracionem dominicam. 2° fo. *sed probatur in tractatu*
591 AL Sermones. 2° *mundicia cordis*
592 AM Morale dogma philosophorum. 2° fo. *concidit et facta est*
Item meditaciones bernardi
593 AN Communeloquium walensis. 2° fo. *sextum de sophistica*
594[1] AO exerpta de proprietatibus Rerum. 2° fo. *tamen aliud*
Item exempla Magistri Jacobi
Item quidam tractatus de lapidibus pacificatus (? versificatus)
Item quidam tractatus de modo dictandi
Item sermones be(rn)ardi de deitate (? dominicis) et sanctis
595 AP sermones. 2° fo. *et istam condicionem*
596 AQ super primum (? psalterium). 1° folio *dauid eximius*

Libri magistri Johannis Erghome

597 A sermones 250. cum tabula *veni domine ihesu*
Tractatus de paupertate .16. capitula
discordia orta inter fratres et prelatos de predicacionibus confessionibus et sepulturis
constitutio iohannis pape 21 contra Johannem de puliac'
598 B propositio armachani contra fratres in communi
Tractatus responsiuus Rogeri de conwaẏ
expositio Nicholaii tertii et clementis quinti in regulam minorum
processus iohannis pape 21 contra minores
(leaf 43a) Responsio dictis argumentis pape iohannis

Summe morales doctorum et sermones

599 C Summa de virtutibus
sermones dominicales per totum annum
qualis debet esse auditor confessionum

[1] 594—596 added.

Summa de proprietatibus rerum
tractatus de spera
Summa de viciis

600 D Tractatus de arte predicandi bonus valde
sermones secundum *illam* artem compositi
libellus de miraculis virginis marie diuisus in quatuor tractatus
liber peniten^{ii} in capitulis 135
sermones optime expositi

601 E Summa de fide preceptis sacramentis et donis
Tractatus de salutacione angelica 8 capitula
sermones de beatitudinibus
sermones alii boni

602 F Summa de viciis
Summa de virtutibus

603 G Expositio canonis misse
statuta sẏnodalia
metra diuersa

604 H tractatus moralis de viciis diuisus in 10 partes
item liber intitulatus de causa om̄ (? omnium)

605 I tractatus de arte predicandi
tractatus super *Aue maris stella*
breuiloquium philosophorum Gualensis
tractatus de veneno
tractatus de oculo morali

606 K Petrus damianus de officiis diuinis

607 L Sermones ffratris Gwidonis completi

608[1] M Rithmus quidam de assumptione beate virginis in gallico
Item Tractatus quidam de sacramentis in 6 partibus
Item visio sancti pauli in gallico. 2° fo. *kaute vint en cest*
Item materie multe sermonum
Item Omelie multe sancti gregorii cum aliis notabilibus

609 N Ordo ad visitandum infirmorum
(leaf 43b) Item sermones beati Augustini ad ffratres suos in heremo
Item expositio Regule beati Augustini secundum Hugonem de sancto victore

[1] The hands are thus divided : 608, 609, 610—612, 613—620, 621—637 : the last section in two or three hands.

Item tractatus beati Augustini de assumptione beate virginis
Item sermo sancti Jeronimi de assumptione eiusdem. 2° fo. *vera contulisti*

610 O Sermones Guydonis. 2° fo. *Expectacio creature*

611 P Sermones anni in dominicis et precipuis festiuitatibus tam super epistolas quam euangelia. 2° fo. *esse transitorii*

bestiarium

612 Q de sacramento altaris et signis crucis ibi factis liber lucidarii. 2° fo. *scidero*

613 R Sermones dominicales et de sanctis. 2° fo. *etatis remunerabitur vtilitas*

614 S Item sermones *Abiciamus.* secundo folio *tamen dicitur*

Bossall'

615 T Item sermones *Abiciamus.* secundo folio *quo dicitur*

616 U Item sermones dominicales Guydonis. secundo folio *intrat a'*

617 X Item sermones Incipientes *Inueni quem diligit.* 2° fo. *salutar'*

618 Y Item tractatus Waldeby super orationem dominicam et super angelicam salutacionem cum diuersis sermonibus eiusdem. 2° fo. *num ecclesiastici*

619 + Item sermones waldeby *Ille arguet.* 2° fo. *Judicium quia*

620 Z Item principium tractatus waldeby super orationem dominicam cum aliis multis. secundo folio *mea sicut*

621 Aa Item tractatus de multiplici timore et habundancia. 2° fo. *autenticorum*

622 Ab Item vnus tractatus qui sic incipit *Benedictus qui venit in* 2° fo. *peniā'*

623 Ac Item liber sermonum *terra erat inanis et vacua* cum diuersis materiebus sermonum. 2° fo. *peccatorum ecclesiastici*

624 Ad Item sermones *effundam super domum dauid.* 2° fo. *seorsum familie*

625 Ae Item materie sermonum et sermones sequentes. 2° fo. *venit ad filium*

626 Af Item vnum bagghe sermonum de papiro *Ascendam in palmam.* 2° fo. *magis r'*

627 Ag Item vnum bagghe sermonum incipit *gratiam dei recipietis.* 2° fo. *et maxime*

628 Ah Item sermones qui incipiunt *quasi lilia*. 2° fo. *tamen victoria*

629 Ai Item sermones qui incipiunt *Abiciamus opera tenebrarum*. 2° fo. *lumen gratie*

630 Ak Item sermones qui incipiunt *veniet desideratus*. 2° fo. *in latro furtum*

631 Al Item sermones qui incipiunt *Precinxisti me*. 2° fo. *Item*
Gysburne

632 Am Sermones dominicales cum sanctis. 2° folio *tatis cum septem peticionibus*

633 An Item sermones dominicales. 2° folio *pugnabit litera*

634 Ao Item lectura ffratris willelmi kyngesham super ecclesiasticum et lectura magistri willelmi Eyncowrte super ecclesiasten. 2° fo. *et in libris*

635 Ap Item opus quadragesimale ex empcione ffratris Johannis Byr(?)wod

636 Aq Item lectura holkot ex empcione eiusdem super sapientiam

637 Am Item lira super psalterium ex empcione eiusdem

[f. 44 blank]

(leaf 45a) *Arsmetrica Musica Geometria. Perspectiua magistri iohannis Erghome*

638 A boecii arsmetrica 3 diebus (*sic*) libris
eiusdem musica in 5 libris

639 B Algorismus iohannis toletani 3 libri
compositio astrolabii et operacio ab eodem
canones astronomie
compositio astrolabii et operacio secundum robertum cestrensem
chilindri operatio et eius compositio
operacio in astrolabio secundum willelmum badcomb
operacio sapientie secundum eundem
comentum super algorismum versificatum in integris
tractatus de compositione equatoris
tractatus de compositione turketi et eius operatione
operatio spere solide secundum badcomb
de composicione Rectanguli et eius operacione secundum abbatem

640 C Perspectiua alacen in libris 7

641 D Perspectiua peccham continens tres partes
epistola messalach continens 12 capitula
alkindus de impressionibus in aere 5 capitula
semisse abbatis [profacii iudei (*added*)
tractatus qui incipit *cum essem*
tractatus auicenne de ortu scientiarum
alpharabius de intellectu et intellecto
lincolniensis de mixtione elementorum
lincoln' de colore
boecius de ebdomadibus
Will' de Tilbury de luminosis
almanach omnium planetarum
Kalendarium Odẏngton cum equacione planetarum
summa eiusdem de etate mundi
tabula super hugucionem pẏsanum
tractatus egidii iudiciarius
Sentential libri de anima et (a) capitulo 7 2^{i} vsque ad finem
tractatus de arte predicandi

642 E Textus geometrie euclidis completus
(leaf 45b) edicio adam (adelardi) bathoniensis super eundem completa
textus euclidis cum commento abelardi (adelardi) vsque ad 8^{m}
quadratura circuli
methaphisica auicenne
alia notabilia pertinentia ad geometriam

643[1] F Musica Gydonis in prosa
musica eiusdem in metro
musica cuiusdam sub dialogo
liber bede de arte metrica
item liber eiusdem de tropis

644 G geometria euclidis cum commento

645 H Musica themredi in tribus libris
musica franconis in 6 capitulis
compendium franconis de discantu in tribus capitulis
Breuiarium regulare musice Willelmi

646 I Bridon de minuciis
Item arsmetrica eiusdem
Item cautele algorismi
Item pars geometrie euclidis

[1] = Oxford St John's College MS. 150, of cent. xi and xv.

NOTES

In the following notes upon the catalogue I make no attempt to call attention to the well known and properly titled treatises. It would be, I think, waste of energy to give references to printed editions of tracts of Augustine and Jerome or of the more famous schoolmen. Where it seems desirable my references are made to Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, which I designate as P.L. I also draw the reader's attention to some of the entries which I am unable to identify.

No. 7 sqq. Historia scholastica. By Petrus Comestor or Mandicator of Troyes. Cent. XII. P.L. CXCVIII.

lig' = ligatus. We may think of these books as bound in wooden boards.

10 sqq. Glosati. Equipped with the Glossa Ordinaria compiled by Walafrid Strabo. P.L. CXIII etc.

14 Articuli fidei Nicholai Ambient, i.e. of Amiens, mentioned by Fabric. *Bibl. Lat.*: *Hist. Litt.* XVII I.

22 per R. de Berl[s]. Robert of Bridlington (Berlinctun), otherwise Robertus Scriba (1180): MSS of it are at Emmanuel No. 8, and Univ. Libr. Dd. 8. 14.

30 Greek Psalter and Canticles. A noteworthy entry. Greek Psalters from English monasteries exist at Trinity, Emmanuel, Corpus Christi.

31 Corrogaciones promothei. A tract by Alexander Neckam dealing largely with the vocabulary of the Vulgate. Described and printed in part by M. Paul Meyer in *Notices et Extraits* XXXV 2 (1897).

32 Joh. Cornubiensis. His best-known work *Eulogium ad Alexandrum III de homine assumpto* is in P.L. CXC 1043. It is probably the work meant here.

37 tract. de miseria conditionis humanae. By Lotharius, afterwards Innocent III: very often printed.

42 Dionysius de diuinis nominibus. One of the tracts current under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, rendered into Latin by John Scotus Erigena and later by Grosseteste.

43 Waldeby super Apoc. John Waldeby, an Augustinian, died about 1393. Robert, his brother, died Abp of York in 1397. This work is not noticed by Tanner as being written by either of the brothers.

44 Petrus Alphonsus, a converted Jew. His *Disciplina Clericalis* and dialogue *Contra Judaeos* written in cent. XII early.

Miraculum resuscitationis Tundali. The Vision of Tundal or Tnugdal, an Irishman (cir. 1150), was probably written by an Irish monk for an Abbess in Germany. On MSS and editions see Ward *Catal. of Romances* II 416.

45 Pet. terentinus = Peter of Tarentaise, afterwards Innocent V (1276). His gloss on the Epistles was printed under the name of Nicholas Gorram.

48 Liber Cancellarii, perhaps a Chancellor of York, or William de Montibus, Chancellor of Lincoln, is meant.

Innocencium = Innocent IV.

51 Nich. de Lyra, the famous commentator, cir. 1340. Thorp is very likely the Richard de Thorpe mentioned in the heading of the catalogue.

52 Holcot, Robert, a Dominican, d. 1349 of the plague.

57 Opus septem custodiarum, i.e. of the seven Wardenships into which England was divided by the Franciscans for the administrative purposes of their order. The work, of which a MS at Peterhouse (No. 169) is described in my catalogue, is an abstract of patristic commentaries on the Bible, accompanied by a list of monasteries in which copies of the works of church writers were to be found. This is the germ of Boston of Bury's larger catalogue.

58 Egidius de Columna (Egid. Romanus), d. 1316.

Aueryos = Averroës.

60 Concordancie Iacobi, or S. Iacobi. Hugo de S. Caro or de Vienna, prior of the Dominicans of St Jacques at Paris, compiled a Concordance, which was afterwards enlarged by English Dominicans (John of Darlington and others).

72 Hugo, sc. de S. Victore. P.L. CLXXV–VII.

75 Inter orig. d. Apparently a reference to no. 68, where the same tract occurs 5th in order.

82 Alredy Abbatis = Ailred of Rievaulx. P.L. CXCV.

83 Lincolniensis = Robert Grosseteste, the great bishop.

85 A collection of *Indices rerum et verborum* to various treatises of Augustine.

92 etc. The *opus imperfectum in Matthaeum* is an incomplete series of Homilies on St Matthew by an Arian writer, in Latin, which was attributed to St John Chrysostom, and was immensely popular in medieval times.

Epistole lemouisensis (= Lemovicensis). A series of imaginary letters from Joseph to Pharaoh, etc., called the

Morale somnium Pharaonis de Regia disciplina, written by John of Limoges and dedicated to Theobald of Navarre. Fabricius *Cod. Pseud. V. T.* I 441.

Anselmus Auelbergensis=Anselm of Havelberg (1154): probably this was his book on the Rule of St Augustine.

94 Manipulus florum. A compilation by John Walleys, completed by Thomas de Hibernia.

96 Brito. This compilation is severely criticised by Roger Bacon.

104 Hildebert, Bp of Lemans and Abp of Tours, d. 1139.

Abbas bona valles. Ernaldus, abbot of Bonneval, near Chartres, cent. XII. *Hist. Litt.* XII 536. P.L. CLXXXIX 1507.

Iohannes Andreae, one of the leading exponents of Canon Law, d. 1348.

105 Peter of Blois. P.L. CCVII.

106 Latin versions of genuine works by Chrysostom: not among the commonest books in medieval times.

Petrus rauennensis = P. Chrysologus. P.L. LII.

107 Stimulus amoris. By Bonaventura.

108 Morale dogma philosophorum: attributed to Hildebert.

109 Disp. Gilberti, by Gilbertus Crispinus, Abbot of Westminster, d. 1117. P.L. CLIX.

Relacio Augustini: not known.

de ymagine domini in ciuitate biricho (= Beryto), a legend of a miraculous image of Christ which fell into the hands of a Jew at Beyrout. v. Dobschütz *Christusbilder*.

The other two miracles may be extracts from Caesarius of Heisterbach *de miraculis sui temporis*.

Actus monachi captivi. By St Jerome.

Vita Marie egipciace, probably by Hildebert.

110 Pharetra, or Pharetra doctorum, a compilation of extracts from the works of some ten church writers. Under 139 it is attributed to Gilbertus.

113 Clemens de articulis fidei. Ars fidei catholicae, attributed to Clement V, perhaps identical with that of "Ambient," no. 14.

Comment. de causis. On the Aristotelian treatise.

Summa Raymundi. R. de Pennaforti Summa confessorum, an extremely popular book.

Expositio super thimeum (Timaeum) Platonis: probably that by Chalcidius.

117 Piktauensis = Petrus Pictavensis, Abp of Embrun, d. 1205.

119 Boycius = Boëthius.

The *Sententiae* of Joh. Damascenus are the Latin version of his work *de fide orthodoxa*.

Vercelensis = Thomas Gallo, abbot of St Andrew's at Vercelli, d. 1226: he commented on the works of the Ps. Dionysius. *Hist. Litt.* XVII 356.

121 Massa compoti. Attributed to Alex. de Villa dei. It begins *Licet modo in fine temporum*, and deals with kalendar calculations.

Declaratio Virgilii, i.e. a commentary.

Will. de S. Amore. His famous book was *de periculis novissimorum temporum*, directed against the orders of friars.

Alberti, i.e. Alberti Magni.

122 Petrus Aureolus, d. 1316; his book begins *Venite ascendamus* and was often printed.

123 Summa de viciis et virtutibus. Perhaps that of Gul. Peraldus.

125 Apoc. Golie, ed. Wright *Poems of Walter Mapes*, etc.

126 Percius, i.e. Persius' Satires.

129 = Maimonides, more Nebuchim. Cf. Bodl. 2378 (Old Cat.).

130 Canones Fulgencii, i.e. Fulgentii Ferrandi.

Jeron. de xv. signis, i.e. the fifteen signs on the fifteen days preceding the Last Judgment. A short tract or paragraph professedly extracted by Jerome from the *Annales Hebraeorum*: it is probably derived from some lost Jewish apocalypse.

131 Vasiligeronticon. The *Compendium super Job* has this alternative title: Basiligerunticon, id est Ludus Henrici senioris regis (i.e. Henry II).

135 Albertanus of Brescia, fl. 1162.

137 Culmensis de statu Cardinalium: I cannot identify.

139 Tabula Martiniana (inc. *Inter alia quae*). A table on the Canon Law. Martinus was a Dominican and papal penitentiary.

Galensis. John Walleys of Oxford and Paris. *Hist. Litt.* XXV 177—200. A copy of this *summa* is in MS Harl. 632.

142 Sentencia marciane de nupciis. An extract from Martianus Capella *de nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*.

Urso. Inc. *Quoniam scientiae physicalis inuentores*.

143 Tripartita historia. The Latin version (by Epiphanius Scholasticus) of the Histories of Sozomen, Socrates and Theodoret, epitomized by Cassiodorus.

144 Diuisio scientiarum. By Walter Burley or Rob. Kilwardby.
Marciani, i.e. Mart. Capella.
Iginii, i.e. Cai. Jul. Hyginus.

147 de expulsione Ade de paradiso. Some form of the Latin *Vita Adae et Evae*: ed. W. Meyer, *Abh. d. Bayr. Akad.*, *Philos.-philol. Kl.* 1878, 185.

148 Valerius de uxore non ducenda. An extract from W. Mapes' *de Nugis Curialium*, commonly found separate, and often attributed to St Jerome.

151 Epistola Valerii ad Rufinum. The same tract as the last.
Veritas Theologie. Attributed to Aquinas and to Joh. de Combis.
Liber Metodii. An apocalypse attributed to Methodius of Olympus (cent. III): printed in Grynaeus *Orthodoxographa* etc.

153 Will. de Conches, cir. 1150: printed with Bede's works (Opp. II 206).

156 P. Alphonsus de suis fabulis, i.e. the *Disciplina Clericalis*.
Elynandi. Helinandus of Froidmont, dioc. Beauvais, a chronicler, d. 1227. P.L. CCXII 477.

157 Dictis effymerides, i.e. the Pseudo-Dictys Cretensis.

158 Julius Celsus de gestis Cesaris. The Commentaries of Caesar, attributed in the middle ages to Jul. Celsus, e.g. in the *Hist. Aurea* of J. de Tynemouth.

159 Elprycius. Helpricus or Hilpericus of St Gall. Cent. X. Pez. *Anecd.* II 2, 182.
Argaphalon, etc. Doubtless astrological.

161 Sulpicius Severus. A rare book.

162 Agnei = Annaei.
Diamediarum = dynamidiarium.

163 Ioachim. The famous Joachim of Flora.

167 libellus de locis. Probably the famous Itinerary of St Antoninus to the Holy Land, cir. 570. Ed. by Tobler, Molinier, the Palestine Pilgrims Text Society, etc.

170 vocabularium super alphabetum. ? secundum alphabetum. Most likely an alphabetical glossary.

172 Egesippus. The *Historia de excidio Hierosolymorum*. Sometimes attributed to St Ambrose.

173 The last entry is puzzling. I suggest that *p. in fedrone* (the reading of the MS) may stand for a Latin version of the Phaedo or Phaedrus of Plato.

176 etc. Thomas = St Thomas Aquinas.

184 Gandavensis. Henr. de Gandavo (Ghent).

187 etc. Godfridus. Either Godfr. Cornubiensis, an English Carmelite (1340), or G. de Fontanis (1280). Both wrote *quodlibeta*.

189 Quodlibetum Iacobi ?

191 Altissiodorensis. *William* of Auxerre (1230).

196 Tract. Rogeri Bacon de tempore. I cannot identify this.
Media villa = Ricardus de Media Villa, cir. 1300. Super 4^{m} = super quartum Sententiarum.

206 Hylkelay = Ilkley (unknown), or *possibly* Herkeley (a known author).

207 Thornton. Probably of local fame.

209 War'. Will. Ware, a Franciscan, cir. 1270. A MS of his comment is at Merton College.

210 Ric. Lincolniensis. The most famous English Richard who commented on the Sentences was R. Fishacre: but he was of Exeter.
Prepositivus. Chancellor of Paris University 1207.

212 halt' de preceptis. ? ? Alex. de Hales or Halton, cf. 370.

215 cum reportorio = with an index.

219 Menvile ?
Armachanus = Rich. Fitzralph, Abp of Armagh.

223 With the exception of Cowton (Franciscan, cir. 1340, called *doctor amoenus*), the writers named here are of strictly local celebrity.
Vesperie: the last disputation held by a candidate for the degree of doctor.

225 Durandus. Gul. Durandus, Bp. of Mende.

228–9 etc. inter asseres albos, rubeos, etc. Bound in boards covered with white or red leather.

229 etc. baghe. May mean that the book had a limp outer cover, of which the edges at one end were so prolonged that the book could be carried about by means of them.

232 doctor subtilis = Duns Scotus.

239 Greg. Novellus or Noellus: this work of his is mentioned by Pits. He *may* be identical with the next, Gregory of Gisburne.

243 Dokhyng. Thomas Docking, Franciscan, cir. 1270.

248 bastardi = William I.

249 Applicaciones originalium. A selection from patristic writings illustrative of the Bible.

250 Kilwardby, Robert, Abp of Canterbury.
Gwiberti. Guibertus Tornacensis, cir. 1263.

251 Alanum. A. de Insula. His book *de planctu naturae* is in Wright *Satirical Poets of the XIIth Century*.
Mauricius ?
253 Remigius, of Auxerre.
257 Joh. Cad'. Probably J. Calderinus of Bologna, cir. 1350.
261 sqq. Texts of Aristotle.
271 Ricardi de motu cordis. ? The physician Ricardus Anglicus.
281 Keluyngton. Ric. Kylington, Dean of St Paul's, 1360.
285 liber de ligno. Probably the story of the Tree of the Cross, beginning *Post peccatum Adae*; often found, as here, with the Gospel of Nicodemus.
289 elyandi = Helinandi.
cronographus de reuelacione inferni. Some vision of Hell extracted from a chronicler.
Secundus philosophus. A dialogue between the philosopher Secundus and Hadrian, translated from the Greek in the twelfth century by William of Gap, monk of St Denis.
Girgurto = Iugurtha.
292 Henricus de ymagine mundi in capsa. The Imago mundi is attributed sometimes to Henry of Mainz. *in capsa* = in a box : it is difficult to imagine why.
293 Exp. super libros platonis de creacione mundi: probably the Timaeus is meant.
294 arsmetrica = arithmetica.
296 wallensem = Joh. Walleys.
299 loquium. May be for Compendiloquium, Foriloquium, Collectiloquium. All these titles occur in the lists of Walleys' works.
304 More local authors. There is a Thomas de Wylton in Bale's *Index*, but this work is not mentioned.
306 William Heytesbury, of Oxford, flourished about the time when this catalogue was written.
de questionibus armenorum. By Rich. Fitzralph, Abp of Armagh.
310 in panno blodio = in a blue cloth "bag."
321 Ric. Feribrigge, cir. 1360. Wrote *Consequentiae*, which were printed in 1493.
I do not know the particulars of the case between the Abbot of Torre and the Augustinians.
322 Jordanus, called Nemorarius, cir. 1235, was famous as a mathematician.
328 Bonnkus, probably Will. Bonkys. A copy of some *quaestiones* of his is at Gonv. and Caius, MS 344.

332 Burley. Walter Burley, of Paris and Oxford, d. 1337.

339 Kervyle (John), an Austin friar. A *Tabula* of his on St Augustine *de trinitate* compiled in 1379 is at Pembroke College, No. 242.

litera d. These letters are the marks of the books, appended to the entry.

340 Ryngsted, Thomas. Dominican and Bp of Bangor, d. 1365.

341 Petrus de Candia. Afterwards Alexander V, d. 1410.

346 Galfr. Herdby or Hardeby. Augustinian friar of Leicester: fl. at the end of cent. XIV.

Jo. de Basilea. Augustinian (?): presided at a general chapter at Basle in 1381.

348 Parisiensis. Probably Joh. Parisiensis, called Surdus, d. 1304.

351 Rydevaws, Jo. Ridevaus. His comment was well known.

358 The name of the tract is illegible to me.

361 sqq. Most of the magical and occult tracts here mentioned are very difficult to identify. The occurrence of the Bridlington prophecy has been noted in the preface.

There are copies of the *Oraculum Cyrilli* and prophecy of Rupescissa (the latter of common occurrence) in Gon. and Cai. 388, 249, Corp. Chr. 404, etc.

Robert de Usecio (Uzès) was a Dominican and d. 1296. His Visions were edited by Faber Stapulensis in 1513.

Cibelle, of course, is for Sibyllae.

362 Sompniarium. A key to the interpretation of dreams. That which occurs most frequently in Latin MSS is ascribed to Daniel. The one before us is evidently by an Arab author. (Ybin = Ibn.)

Opus capitis magni. Does this mean something like the Brazen Head of Friar Bacon, or merely "the great Chapter"?

liber honorii may be the *Clavis physicae de naturis rerum* of Honorius of Autun, which seems to have been in five parts.

363 prophetie paparum. Predictions concerning popes. The most famous series is that current under the name of Malachy of Armagh (printed in Gfrörer *Prophetae pseudepigraphi*, etc.).

364 liber sacratus petri abellardi. I do not find this noted in lists of books ascribed to Abelard.

366 hermanius = Hermannus Contractus of St Gall (d. 1054).

369 Tract. de spera de bosco = Joh. de sacro bosco de sphaera.

Mag. bawdewynus. ? Balduinus de Marrochio, who wrote works of this nature.

370 etc. Halton seems to be of local celebrity only: I do not find him in the authorities. Badcomb occurs again in 639 and in Bale.

371 Joh. Manduth or Mauduit, of Oxford, c. 1310.

373 Rog. Herfordensis: his date is given as 1170.

374 The occurrence of a part of Jul. Firmicus Maternus is noteworthy: the whole work contains eight books.

375 Tebyth, commonly written Thebith.

Pronostica socratis basilei, an augurial work: a copy of it is in MS Ashmole 304.

376 Joh. de asschdene: otherwise Ashendon or Estwode, of Merton Coll., Oxford, cir. 1350.

Will. Anglicus: said to have been a citizen of Marseilles.

379 = no. 121.

380 spera pictagore (Pythagorae). A diagram for prognosticating life or death. Printed by Jenkinson, *Hisperica Famina*, p. 31.

381 compotus hererici. ? Helperici.

382 tract. albyon secundum abbatem, sc. Rich. Wallingford, Abbot of St Albans (1326). Albion was the name given by him to an astronomical instrument which he constructed.

383 Vacca Platonis: an alchemical tract, of which Io. Picus Mirandula *in Astrologos* I 284 speaks. A copy in Bodl. MS Digby 71, etc.

belleni, probably the same as loelleni below. A copy is in Royal MS 12. C. XVIII.

394 The *Ludus Arithmomachiae* (as it should be called) is extant in MS Ashmole 1471.

412 Romfridi = Roffredus Beneventanus.

420 ars dictaminis. A guide to the drawing up of *formulae* for official documents.

422 Galfridi = G. de Trano.

424 cardinalis, i.e. Johannes Monachus, Bp of Amiens and of Meaux, d. 1313.

434 Bernardi, i.e. B. Compostellanus, cir. 1250.

437 lamethe = Lambeth.

439 Rosarium, sc. of Guido de Baysio, commonly called Archidiaconus.

444 Oculus sacerdotis by W. de Pacula.

449 Pupilla oculi by Joh. de Burgo.

451 correctorium biblie. A correction of the errors commonly current in the Vulgate text. The Dominicans of Paris made a revision of this kind. Vercellone and Denifle have written on the subject.

453 Genecie Muscionis = *γυναικεῖα* of Moschio.

454 Epistola Sathane. A satirical *jeu d'esprit*, such as occurs in MS Univ. Coll., Oxf., 53, p. 441.

456 Mag. Rogeri. Perhaps R. Bacon.

The alchemical tracts which follow are only to be identified by a specialist.

hericocedron walteri = Icosedron of Walter Odington, of Evesham.

457 Odo in numero ternario. O. Morimundensis (in 1160) *de analyticis Ternarii*. A copy in Trin. Coll., B. 16. 17.

458 Macer. The poem is now ascribed to Odo of Meung-sur-Loire.

462 liber equiuocorum Dactili. Inc. *Dactile quid latitas*. A grammatical poem ascribed to Serlo. MS Gon. and Cai. 136. 5.

463 Cena cipriani. Probably by Cyprianus, a Gallic poet. It is a *memoria technica* introducing Biblical personages at a feast, and assigning to each an appropriate function. Printed with the works of St Cyprian.

466 Note the presence of a Hebrew book.

467 Sentologium, for centiloquium.

469 Phisonomia mag. Rob. de Burgo. I have not found this elsewhere.

470 Unus omnium. See 480, where the *incipit* is given.

Accentarius (Joh. de Garlandia). Inc. *Ecclesiae sacrae modulans*.

Anglia quo fulget. The *incipit* of Joh. de Garlandia *de mysteriis Ecclesiae*.

liber equiuocorum. Inc. *Augustus ti to*: perhaps by Geoffrey de Vinsauf.

templum dei. By Robert Grosseteste.

Marboti. Marbodus of Rennes.

liber Merarii. Inc. *Merarii nuper scintillanti iubare*.

liber distigii. Inc. *Cespitat in phaleris*, by Joh. de Garlandia.

Commentarius, Joh. de G., containing explanations of words.

The Dictionarius is by the same. Inc. *Dictionarius dicitur libellus*.

On this literature see Hauréau in *Notices et Extraits* XXVII 2, etc., and Paul Meyer *Romania* XXXVI 481 sqq.

473 Gressismus = Graecismus of Eberhard, of Bethune.

479 Petrus Helias. Commentator on Priscian and author of several grammatical tracts.

481 Alani, sc. de Insulis. Wright *Satirical Poets of XIIth Cent.*

482 Ylias magistri symonis.

484 Bernardus, sc. Silvestris, ed. Barach and Wrobel.

486 The Alexandreïs of Gautier de Lille or de Châtillon in ten books.

488 Marcii valerii = Martial.

489 The contents of this volume were chiefly poems, some by Hildebert, others probably now lost. *Descripcio pannorum*, a description of (or copy of verses inscribed on) tapestry or painted cloths in some church or palace.

Epistola presbiteri Johannis. The letter of Prester John to Emmanuel, Emperor of the East: ed. Zarncke.

490 Some of these poems, under the name of Golias, are in Wright's *Poems of W. Mapes.*

De sancto Nemine. A copy in Royal 12. D. III.

quondam fuit factus festus is a comic poem in dog Latin last printed by W. Meyer in the Göttingen *Nachrichten Phil.-Hist. Kl.* 1908.

Integumenta methos = Joh. Anglicus on Ovid's Metamorphoses. Digby MS 104 f. 161, etc.

492 prudencius in aureola marni. ? a bad mistake for *amartigenia* (a poem of Prudentius).

493 Architrenius of Joh. de Alta Villa. Wright *Satirical Poets.*

Ouidius de vetula. A spurious poem by Leo Protonotarius. Printed by Goldast.

495 Hemerinus de diccionibus grecis.

499 Pamphilius or Pamphilus. See Leyser *Hist. poet. medii aevi.*

500 The list of spurious poems ascribed to Virgil is interesting. That *de rosis* is found ascribed also to Ovid.

502 Further grammatical poems and tracts.

Commoda dicemus. Elsewhere called *Unus omnium.*

Synonyma. *Ad mare ne latices.* Wrongly ascribed to J. de Garlandia.

Urbanus. A copy in Gon. and Cai., 61. 15.

Thobias. By Matthew of Vendôme.

Algorismus. By Alex. de Villa dei. *Hic algorismus ars presens dicitur in qua.*

Qui bene vult. Alex. Neckam *de utensilibus.*
Paruum doctrinale. By Alex. de Villa dei. *Scribere clericulis.*
503 Galfridi, sc. de Vinsauf.
504 Quinti sereni, sc. Q. S. Sammonicus. A poem on Materia Medica.
505 Compendium grammatice. Inc. *Grammaticae triuialis apex.*
Liber peniten... Inc. *Poeniteas cito peccator.*
506 Bernardus metricus. sc. B. "Morlanensis." Wright *Satirical Poets.* Contains the original of the well-known hymn, *Jerusalem the golden*, etc., rendered from it by J. M. Neale.
509 The last two entries are of medical treatises.
510 Ouidius de mirabilibus mundi. Never printed so far as I can discover. There are MSS at Cambridge (Fitzwilliam (McClean) and St John's).
513 Catholicon, sc. of Ioh. Januensis de Balbis, 1286. A dictionary.
514 ethro^tis^. ? ethimologicis or ethnicis.
518 Theodoli. An Eclogue by Theodulus (cent. XI ?) in the form of a dialogue between Pseustes and Phronesis on the pagan and Christian religions.
519 Agelii. The common medieval corruption of Aulus Gellius.
521 Treueth = Nic. Trivet.
550 Martiniana, of Martin of Oppau *alias* Mart. Polonus.
553 Gesta britonum, sc. of Geoffrey of Monmouth.
555 Petrus in aurora. Petrus de Riga's *Aurora*, a versification of a great part of the Bible.
561 Ianuensis. Jacobus de Voragine.
563 Guido. Probably G. Ebroicensis, c. 1290.
564 losensis. Probably Jac. Losannensis, c. 1318.
The collections of sermons here entered defy identification except in a few cases: the *incipits* are common to many collections, e.g. *Hora iam nos* may be by Nic. de Aqua villa, Gul. Peraldus, Th. Walleys, etc. The text, from the Epistle for the 1st Sun. in Advent, indicates sermons *de tempore.*
577 etc. Templum domini is probably by Grosseteste.
586 Bromyard, John. Dominican of Cambridge.
588 Mauricius; Anglus or Hibernus, c. 1290.
598 Rog. Conway defended the Minorites in 1359 against FitzRalph.

608 Visio S. pauli. There is a French metrical version of this by Adam de Ros, and see *Romania* xxiv 365.

614 Sermones *Abiciamus*. May be by Downham, Maulay, or Byard. They would be *Sermones de tempore*.

626 *Ascendam in palmam*. An ordinary beginning for a series of *Sermones de sanctis*. The text occurs in the office of St Andrew.

630 *Veniet desideratus*. Sermons of R. Twyford and others begin thus.

634 Kyngesham is mentioned as a Dominican by Boston of Bury, and so is Eyncourte or Encourt.

639 Badcomb. Mentioned by Bale as Batecumbe.

secundum abbatem: i.e. Wallingford (see 382). A copy in MS Univ. Libr. Camb., Ee. 3. 61.

641 Peccham. Abp John Peckham.

Will. Tilbury is not in Bale or Tanner.

Odyngton, Walter, alias Walter of Evesham, is best known as a writer on music, but cf. 456.

645 This MS, I now discover, is Bodl. 842 (2575). It was bought in 1477 by John Gilling, monk of Byland, from a carpenter named Sproxton. This adds another to the extant remains of the Library (see p. 16).

Themredi. Thinredus, precentor of Dover Priory, cir. 1370.

646 Bridon = Simon Bredon, of Merton College, cir. 1380.

M. R. JAMES.

UN CATALOGO FIN QUI SCONOSCIUTO DELLA BIBLIOTECA PAPALE D' AVIGNONE (1407): IL CODICE S. 3 DELLA BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE DI MADRID.

Si era nel Novembre 1893, in una di quelle giornate tristi, così proprie dell' inverno Madrileno, verso le 3 pomeridiane. Avevo terminato il mio lavoro, e nel mio alloggio il baule era già pronto: sarei partito col treno della sera. Per utilizzare anche l' ultima ora, presi a sfogliare di nuovo il catalogo alfabetico dei manoscritti, compilato sul principio del secolo scorso da Don Francisco Antonio Gonzalez. Feci venire un volume, il cui titolo prometteva d' essere un catalogo della Biblioteca Vaticana[1], cosa per me non priva d' interesse. Ma quale non fu la mia sorpresa riconoscendo che in realtà si trattava di un catalogo fin qui sconosciuto della Biblioteca Papale d' Avignone, redatto nell' anno 1407, di singolare interesse, non soltanto per la storia di questa

[1] Il volume è registrato nel catalogo alla parola *Biblioteca Vaticana.* È un volume di 118 fogli di mm. 286 × 218, recentemente numerati con matita, legato in pergamena flessibile. Sul dorso è scritto da mano abbastanza antica: *Orde*[n] *de* | *los libros* | *del sacro* | *Palacio* | *de ma* | *no es* | *crita.* Al di sotto si trova un cartellino con una segnatura moderna: MSS. 6399. Questa segnatura è ripetuta dentro sul foglio di guardia, accanto alla segnatura *S.* 3, che per ben due volte vi è scritta e cancellata. I primi sei fogli, che contengono l' introduzione, sono scritti a due colonne; i seguenti a linee piene.

Biblioteca, probabilmente la più ricca del suo tempo[1], ma anche per la storia della cura dei libri e della tecnica delle biblioteche. Il primo interesse fu per me tale e tanto (in considerazione del secondo volume della *Historia bibliothecae Romanorum Pontificum tum Bonifatianae tum Avenionensis*)[2] che mi costrinse a riaprire il baule e mi trattenne un altro mese a Madrid; l'altro è quello di offrirmi materia adatta al presente volume.

Gioverà richiamare brevemente alla memoria dei lettori, come si sogliono distinguere quattro biblioteche papali. Anzitutto l' antica, che sembra essere stata distrutta o dispersa poco prima, o poco dopo il pontificato d' Innocenzo III (1198—1216)[3]. Fa seguito la Biblioteca Bonifaziana, così detta dal suo catalogo del 1295, formata dai libri raccolti da Innocenzo III in poi, e perduta ad Assisi nel convento di S. Francesco dopo l' anno 1345 in un modo non ancora ben chiaro[4]. Con pochi libri trasferiti da Perugia e da Assisi Clemente V cominciò a formare una terza biblioteca nel palazzo pontificio d'Avignone e di questa ci occuperemo qui; osservo soltanto che anche essa andò dispersa. Una gran parte fu trasferita da Pietro di Luna (Benedetto XIII) negli anni 1408—1410 a Peniscola, in quel romantico castello dei Templari eretto in cima ad uno

[1] F. Ehrle, Historia bibliothecae Rom. Pont. I, 748.

[2] Tom. I, Romae, 1890.

[3] La congettura presentata da G. B. De Rossi (De origine, historia, indicibus scrinii et bibliothecae sedis apost. commentatio, premessa al vol. di H. Stevenson, Codices Palatini lat. Bibl. Vatic., pp. XCIV, XCVIII), seconda la quale la perdita dell' antico Archivio e dell' antica Biblioteca dei Papi sarebbe connessa colla cessione della Torre Cartularia presso l' Arco di Tito fatta dai Frangipani agli Annibaldi verso il 1244, richiede, se non m' inganno, d' essere di nuovo accuratamente esaminata. Spero di poterlo fare fra poco altrove.

[4] V. Historia bibl. Rom. Pont. I, 125.

scoglio che si avanza nel mare, formando una penisola, un po' al sud di Tortosa. I rimasugli di questa parte passarono dopo l'estinzione dello scisma dei Peniscolesi (1429) nel collegio del Cardinale Pietro di Foix a Tolosa ed indi nel 1680 nella Biblioteca Nazionale di Parigi[1]. Della parte rimasta ad Avignone fino al 1594[2], incirca 400 manoscritti andarono a finire, non si sa come, sotto il pontificato di Paolo V (1605—1621) nel Palazzo Borghese a Roma, dove li scoprii nel 1884[3] e donde ebbi la soddisfazione di trasferirli alla Vaticana nel 1892, avendoli generosamente riscattati Leone XIII. Pochi volumi erano già prima passati direttamente da Avignone nella quarta biblioteca papale, la Vaticana, istituita da Martino V.

Per la storia della Biblioteca Avignonese abbiamo documenti così numerosi e così ricchi da riempire due grossi volumi a stampa (il secondo di prossima pubblicazione), che presto ne racconteranno le varie vicende. Ciò non ostante il catalogo Madrileno del 1407 colma una incresciosa lacuna. Sino ad ora infatti non avevamo di essa che due catalogi discretamente completi, l'uno di Urbano V, del 1369[4], e l'altro di Gregorio XI, del 1375 incirca[5]. Mancava dunque un catalogo degli ultimi trent' anni, il quale ci ponesse sott' occhio la Biblioteca nel suo

[1] L. Delisle, Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, I, 493 s.; N. Valois, La France et le Grand Schisme d'Occident, IV, 471 ss.; F. Ehrle, Der Cardinal Peter de Foix der Aeltere, die Acten seiner Legation in Aragonien u. sein Testament nell' Archiv für Litteratur- u. Kirchengeschichte des M. A. VII, 421—514.

[2] Denifle-Ehrle, Archiv für Litteratur- u. Kirchengeschichte des M. A. I (1885), 20, nota 1.

[3] L.c. p. 20.

[4] Historia bibl. Rom. Pont. I, 284—437.

[5] L.c. pp. 454—560.

pieno sviluppo. A ciò non valeva il catalogo di Peniscola[1], poichè esso ci mostra bensì la parte tolta al palazzo d' Avignone, ma non quella ivi rimasta. Al contrario il nostro catalogo del 1407 ci introduce nella Biblioteca Avignonese al colmo del suo sviluppo, cioè tale quale era un anno prima che ne cominciasse la dispersione.

Però se grande è l' interesse storico del catalogo Madrileno, è ancor più grande quello che esso offre a chi si diletta delle questioni tecniche di biblioteconomia, a chi studia con amore gli scaffali, i banchi e gli altri mobili delle biblioteche, il modo onde i libri vi erano collocati, i mezzi escogitati per trovarli con facilità. Sotto questo rispetto il catalogo è, per quanto posso vedere, unico nel suo genere e molto superiore al suo tempo[2].

Leggiamo dunque la lunga introduzione che precede il catalogo. Si tratta soltanto del catalogo della Grande Biblioteca del Palazzo Avignonese, nel quale si trovavano anche altre collezioni di libri[3]. Inoltre non si parla soltanto d' un catalogo, ma altresì d' un ordinamento dei libri della Biblioteca, anzi d' un nuovo ordinamento o riordinamento. Il merito di questa operazione si dà all' *intelligenza* del papa stesso con una frase, che già conosciamo dal tempo di Gregorio XI[4].

Segue una descrizione minuta della sala occu-

[1] M. Faucon, La Librairie des Papes d'Avignon II, 43—151.

[2] Il catalogo, che più si avvicina ad esso è, per quanto posso vedere, quello del Priorato di S. Martino a Dover del 1389, pubblicato da M. R. James, The ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover, pp. XC s., 407—496, dal cod. Bodley 920 della Bodleiana; cf. J. W. Clark, The care of books[2], pp. 188—190.

[3] Historia bibl. Rom. Pont. I, 438, 562.

[4] L.c. pp. 487, 452.

pata dalla Biblioteca. Ho dimostrato altrove[1], che nel palazzo Avignonese i papi abitavano in quella torre, la quale anticamente fu chiamata la *torre del papa*, la *grossa*, la *torre del tesoro*, la *torre di piombo*, cioè quella, che al presente è conosciuta sotto il nome della torre degli Angioli (la Tour des Anges)[2]. Chi guarda dalla linea Marsiglia-Lione quella massa imponente che dalla rupe de Doms domina i tetti della città, vede levarsi questa torre gigantesca quasi nel mezzo della fronte orientale di quel palazzo fortificato. La torre, costruita da Benedetto XII, si prestava benissimo per l' abitazione del papa e per sede tranquilla dei suoi studî. Sotto di essa si stendono la parte orientale della città e le campagne fertilissime di Sorgues, di Carpentras e di Malaucène; in fondo le alture del Mont Ventoux dànno un rilievo pittoresco al magnifico panorama. Di più questa torre era perfettamente protetta contro i rigori della tramontana provenzale, contro il triste *Mistral*.

Nell' ultimo piano della torre era la Tesoreria superiore (thesauraria superior) ed accanto ad essa la Biblioteca Grande (libraria maior). Nel piano inferiore era l' appartamento papale.

Del vano occupato dalla Biblioteca il catalogo ci dà una descrizione molto precisa[3]. Esso era quadrangolare ed oblungo. Entrando per l' unica porta abbiamo a destra nel primo lato o muro (quadrum) una finestra e quindi un armadio (armarium) con cinque scaffali (domuncula) o divisioni

[1] Historia bibl. Rom. Pont. I, pp. 685 s., 705 s.
[2] L.l. c.c.; F. Digonnet, Le Palais des Papes d'Avignon, pp. 112—120.
[3] V. qui sotto p. 112 ss.

verticali. Questo lato o il lato quarto colla sua finestra guarda l' oriente.

A sinistra della porta, cioè nel secondo lato minore del vano, accanto all' uscio non c' era posto che per un armadio di due scaffali; mentre alla sinistra di questo, nel terzo lato, la parete non interrotta da alcuna porta o finestra dava luogo ad un armadio di undici scaffali. Nel quarto lato, il secondo dei minori, si apriva una seconda finestra che aveva accanto un armadio con due soli scaffali. In fine l' autore aggiunge che ciascuno scaffale non era soltanto diviso orizzontalmente da un certo numero di palchetti o tavole, ma anche verticalmente in due scompartimenti (ordines). In questi scompartimenti i libri segnati con una sola serie progressiva di numeri, dall' 1 al 1582, erano ordinati in modo, che il numero primo occupava in basso sul primo palchetto il primo posto a destra. I numeri seguenti riempivano i palchetti dal basso in alto fino in cima, per ricominciare da capo nel seguente dal primo palchetto in basso.

Dopo questa descrizione della Biblioteca minuta e precisa, l' autore aveva inserito, come ci dice egli stesso[1], un disegno schematico della sala, della collocazione dei quattro armadî e dei loro venti scaffali. Nel manoscritto Madrileno il disegno manca; e ciò prova che questo codice non è che una copia, quasi coeva, del resto, all' originale, come ci attestano la sua scrittura e la sua storia. Però non ho incontrato alcuna difficoltà a colmare questa lacuna e a ricostruire il disegno perduto[2].

[1] V. qui sotto p. 114.
[2] V. questa ricostruzione qui sotto p. 113.

Come ci ha insegnato l'autore del libro intitolato: *The care of books*, furono in uso almeno dal secolo 14° in poi, tre diversi sistemi per la collocazione dei libri nelle biblioteche. Primo il sistema dei leggìi (lectern system)[1], ancora ai giorni nostri così ben conservato nella Biblioteca Laurenziana di Firenze[2], nella Malatestiana di Cesena[3], e nella biblioteca parrocchiale di S. Walburga in Zutphen in Olanda[4]. Poi il sistema degli scaffali comunemente in uso anche al giorno d'oggi. Di esso però dobbiamo distinguere due forme fra loro molto diverse, cioè il sistema trasversale (stall-system)[5] ed il sistema murale (wall-system)[6]. Il sistema dei leggìi e quello degli scaffali trasversali dànno alle biblioteche quasi la stessa fisionomia. Una sala rettangolare con molte finestre nei due lati lunghi, contiene negli intervalli delle finestre altrettanti leggìi o scaffali, disposti perpendicolarmente ai suddetti muri lunghi. Negli intervalli fra i leggìi o scaffali vi sono banchi per sedere. Fra le due file di leggii o scaffali rimane nel mezzo un passo libero fra i due lati più stretti della sala.

Come nei leggìi i manoscritti occupavano soltanto la tavola superiore (o se questa era riservata per i libri aperti per la lettura, un palchetto più basso) pochi libri vi avevano posto. E senza dubbio fu un tale inconveniente, che consigliò l' uso degli scaffali. Avendo questi quasi la doppia altezza dei leggìi, e per conseguenza da sei ad otto palchetti o tavole per collocarvi codici; e di più essendo uso di

[1] Clark, The care of books[2], pp. 147, 154, 239.
[2] L.c. p. 228 s. [3] L.c. p. 193 s. [4] L.c. p. 147 s.
[5] L.c. pp. 166, 239. [6] L.c. p. 265.

collocare su queste tavole i codici in piedi e non orizzontalmente, come si praticava nei leggìi, uno scaffale conteneva da otto a dieci volte più codici che un leggìo.

Inoltre se paragoniamo in questo rispetto il sistema degli scaffali trasversali con quello degli scaffali a muro, è evidente che il primo permetteva di collocare nello stesso vano un numero molto maggiore di libri che il secondo.

Pur troppo i libri camerali d' Avignone non ci hanno conservato notizie sulla fattura degli scaffali della Biblioteca Grande. Gli armadî, dei quali si parla nei conti d' Innocenzo VI (1352—1362)[1], furono più probabilmente destinati per le camere del tesoriere o del cancelliere. Erano armadî chiusi con sportelli[2], dovendo contenere i registri delle lettere papali, i conti ed altri libri, che richiedevano gelosa custodia. Inoltre erano così alti, che per prendere alcuni libri occorreva una scala[3]; per conseguenza avevano più tosto la forma di quegli armadî, che si chiamavano in antico francese *chartier* o *press*[4]. Gli armadî della Grande Biblioteca, al contrario, consistevano senza dubbio in veri scaffali aperti e d' una discreta altezza, come prova il numero dei volumi contenuti in alcuni scompartimenti.

Da ciò che ho detto sopra è evidente che gli scaffali nella nostra biblioteca non erano disposti secondo il sistema trasversale, ma secondo quello murale. Si è fin qui riconosciuta la prima appli-

[1] Historia bibl. Rom. Pont. I, 711 s.
[2] L.c. pp. 646, 647, 712.
[3] L.c. pp. 641, 711.
[4] Clark, The care of books², p. 86 s.

cazione di questo sistema nella Biblioteca dell' Escorial (1584)[1], e credo a ragione, se si parla della prima applicazione su larga scala in una grande biblioteca di migliaia di volumi. Dall' altra parte però non si può negare che questo stesso sistema fosse in uso fin dal 1407, anzi probabilmente già incirca mezzo secolo prima, nel palazzo papale d' Avignone in una forma bene sviluppata, quantunque meno larga.

Il resto dell' introduzione tratta della distribuzione dei libri sugli scaffali; conseguentemente l' autore ci esibisce la divisione dei libri da lui adottata, secondo le materie che trattano. Ho cercato di compendiare nello schema seguente sia questa divisione, sia anche la distribuzione delle singole classi negli scaffali, aggiungendo a ciascheduna il numero latino dell' armadio, che occupa, il numero arabo dello scaffale, ed i numeri correnti dei libri contenuti.

I. Teologia. I 1—5, II 1, 2, III 1—5; 1—1177.

1. *Biblie simplices.*
2. *Biblie glosate.*
3. *Biblie postillate.*
4. *Expositiones vocabulorum, figure, exempla.*
5. I commentatori cronologicamente.
6. *Concordantie.*
7. *Distinctiones super vocabulis et materiis.*
8. *Tabule originalium, manipuli florum, extractiones.*
9. *Sacri doctores*: Santi Padri.
10. *Libri speculativi*: Scolastici.
11. *Libri suspecti*: eretici.

[1] Clark, The care of books², p. 265 s.

12. *Libri practici*: *historiales* (storici), *sermones*, *oratores*, *poete* (autori classici).
13. *Libri divini officii*: liturgia.

II. Diritto Canonico. III 6, 7; 1178—1401.

1. *Tractatus de potestate ecclesiastica.*
2. *Censuale Romane Ecclesie.*
3. *Libri ordinarii*: i testi.
4. *Notatores.*
5. *Glosatores.*
6. *Expositores.*
7. *Compilatores.*
8. *Canonizationes Sanctorum.*
9. *Constitutiones*, *regule*, *privilegia ordinum religiosorum.*

III. Diritto Civile. III 8; 1402—1454.

1. Testi e commentarî.
2. *Libri artis notarie et artis dictandi.*
[3. Due volumi coi processi di canonizzazione di S. Tommaso da Cantilupo.]

IV. *Artes Liberales.* III 9; 1455—1570.

1. Grammatica.
2. Logica.
3. *Philosopia naturalis.*
4. *Philosophia moralis.*
5. Retorica, Matematica, Astronomia, Musica.

V. Medicina. III 9; 1571—1582.

La divisione rivela una testa ben organizzata e metodica, quantunque non manchino alcuni ripieghi, che ai giorni nostri sembrano strani. Così gli Autori Classici non trovano un posticino, se non sotto il manto dei Sermonarî ; dovendo questi, come

spiega l'autore, infiorare le loro prediche con alcuni fiorellini colti nei campi degli oratori e poeti antichi. Qui si vede un occhio, che misura tutto lo scibile col metro proprio delle scienze teologiche, e che non è ancor tocco da alcun raggio del rinascimento degli studî classici allora ben progredito. Del resto la divisione ci offre un sunto molto completo e ragionato della Bibliografia ecclesiastica anteriore al secolo XV.

In quanto riguarda la collocazione delle singole sezioni, la Teologia non occupava soltanto la prima parete od armadio coi suoi cinque scaffali, a destra della porta, fra le due finestre, ma anche i due scaffali dell' armadio a sinistra ed i primi cinque scaffali del terzo armadio.

Essa fu dunque la sezione di gran lungo maggiore, non contenendo meno di 1177 volumi. Il Diritto Canonico occupava coi suoi 227 volumi soltanto il sesto e settimo scaffale; mentre i 50 volumi del Diritto Civile non riempivano l'ottavo. Nel nono erano riuniti i libri delle Arti Liberali e della Medicina.

Passando ad esaminare il testo stesso del nostro catalogo, sono anzitutto da distinguere due classi di catalogi ben diverse fra loro tanto per lo scopo, quanto per la dicitura. Alcuni catalogi vengono compilati a modo di titoli di proprietà o di inventarî per dimostrare dinanzi ai tribunali, nelle consegne e revisioni ufficiali ed in altre occasioni simili, di quanti e quali libri la biblioteca sia composta. In essi devono essere registrati non pure i titoli delle singole opere, ma anche i segni individuali degli esemplari contenuti nella biblioteca da

inventariarsi, di maniera che una copia di grande valore non possa essere sostituita da un' altra di poco prezzo. Tutte proprie di questi catalogi o più tosto inventarî, sono le indicazioni delle prime o ultime parole d' una delle pagine, qualche volta anche quelle delle ultime dell' ultimo o penultimo foglio; essendo tali indicazioni veramente note caratteristiche ed individuali delle copie in questione.

Per contrario lo scopo dei catalogi propriamente detti è di far trovare speditamente qualunque volume della biblioteca. Questi catalogi dànno i soli titoli dei manoscritti, anzi i titoli delle singole opere in essi contenute, siano poche, siano molte; aggiungendo però all' indicazione del contenuto di ciascun volume un numero o un' etichetta od altro, che mostri lo scaffale ed il posto, che occupa il volume.

Da ciò è manifesto che il nostro catalogo appartiene alla seconda classe, essendo per così dire un catalogo topografico. Infatti vediamo da esso, che nella Biblioteca Avignonese del 1407 ciascun volume aveva un numero proprio tanto negli scaffali sul dorso della sua legatura, quanto nel catalogo presso il suo titolo, i quali numeri formavano una serie unica continuata per tutti i volumi dall' 1 al 1582. Tali numeri permettevano, mercè le spiegazioni date nell' introduzione al catalogo, di ritrovare con facilità i volumi desiderati.

Paragoniamo ancora un momento il nostro catalogo con gli altri, anteriori e posteriori, della stessa Biblioteca Avignonese. Il nostro è ben diverso da quello di Urbano V del 1369, il quale

facendo parte d' un inventario generale del tesoro o mobilio rimasto nel Palazzo Avignonese, ha tutte le note caratteristiche d' un inventario per le consegne e revisioni, ha tutti gli *Incipit* ed *Explicit* a ciò richiesti.

Invece il catalogo di Gregorio XI del 1375 incirca è essenzialmente dello stesso tipo del Madrileno del 1407, essendo anch' esso un catalogo topografico ed anch' esso della Biblioteca Grande (Libraria magna)[1]. Eziandio nel Catalogo Gregoriano ciascun volume ha il suo numero, ma i numeri non formano una sola serie continua; ciascuna sezione ha una serie propria. Lo stato frammentario dell' unica copia del catalogo fin qui ritrovata non ci permette però di ricostruire la divisione in sezioni ivi adottata. Vi erano almeno cinque grandi sezioni (tabulae), ma oltre di queste ne appariscono altre minori, anch' esse con serie di numeri proprie[2].

Una parentela molto più stretta congiunge il nostro catalogo con quello di Peniscola. Ce ne dà la spiegazione una piccola nota apposta al margine del f. 66vo del catalogo Madrileno, la quale dice: *Hucusque portati de Avinione*, cioè fin a questo numero—il n. 671—i libri della Biblioteca Grande del Palazzo Avignonese sono stati trasferiti a Peniscola. E di fatto fin a questo numero i due catalogi combinano fra loro così esattamente, che quando li

[1] Historia bibl. Rom. Pont. 1, 532.

[2] Colgo questa occasione per correggere un errore incorso nella mia *Historia bibl. Rom. Pont.* Ingannato da un falso titolo aggiunto al frammento in questione (Archiv. Vatic. Regest. Avenion. n. 231, f. 88), ho creduto che i libri registrati pp. 549—560, nn. 1483—1677 costituissero la biblioteca posseduta da Gregorio XI prima del suo pontificato. Dopo però mi sono accorto che si tratta della biblioteca del cardinale Pietro di Luna (poi Benedetto XIII). Ciò provano i nomi degli impiegati nel titolo a p. 549.

pubblicherò nel secondo volume della mia *Historia bibl. Rom. Pont.*, basterà per molti volumi di rimandare i lettori alla descrizione più esatta, senza stamparli ambedue. Generalmente è più completa e minuta la descrizione nel catalogo di Peniscola, benchè in alcuni casi sia da preferirsi quella d' Avignone. Del resto dalla nota marginale suddetta segue che i volumi anteriori al n. 671 furono trasferiti a Peniscola, ma non segue che non vi fossero frammischiati dei libri di altre provenienze.

Nella loro parte tecnica tanto la biblioteca quanto il catalogo di Peniscola sono un' esatta riproduzione della biblioteca e del catalogo d' Avignone del 1407. Quindi siccome al catalogo di Peniscola manca un' introduzione simile a quella del nostro catalogo, così è questa di grandissimo aiuto per intendere pienamente l' ordinamento della biblioteca e del catalogo di Peniscola. Sembra che in questo castello si fosse trovata o più tosto fosse stata fabbricata una sala delle stesse dimensioni e colla stessa distribuzione delle finestre e della porta come la Biblioteca Grande della torre degli Angioli ad Avignone. A Peniscola, come ad Avignone, il primo armadio o muro (armarium) aveva cinque scaffali (domuncula), ciascuno scaffale era diviso in scompartimenti (ordines) ; anche a Peniscola il secondo armadio o muro conteneva due soli scaffali. Però ivi la serie dei libri, almeno dei libri registrati nell' unico catalogo pervenutoci, termina col primo scompartimento del secondo scaffale del terzo armadio o muro della sala, mentre ad Avignone continuava fino al secondo scompartimento del nono scaffale. Ciò si spiega,

mancando nel catalogo di Peniscola tutti i libri del Diritto sia Canonico, sia Civile.

E ciò basti per far risaltare l' importanza che mi sembra avere il catalogo Madrileno per la storia della Biblioteconomia e per l' illustre e benemerito storico di essa, al quale con animo grato dedico questo lavoretto.

Appendice.

Aggiungo il testo latino del principio della introduzione, che contiene la descrizione della sala della Biblioteca e degli scaffali[1].

F. 1ra Incipit nova ordinacio omnium librorum et voluminum repertorum in maiori libraria sacri palacii Avinion[*is*] anno a nativitate Domini millesimo quadringentesimo septimo, pontificatus vero sanctissimi domini nostri Benedicti pape XIII de anno XIII°, de mandato sue beatissime sanctitatis facta et iuxta eiusdem sanctitatis serenissimum et preclarissimum ingenium compilata.

Ut facilius sequens ordinacio perpendatur libet attendere, quod grandis libraria sacri palacii Avinionis est in quadro posita, et in quolibet quadro dicte librarie sunt armaria lignea, que per diversas domunculas a sumo usque ad deorsum distincta sunt. Quelibet eciam domuncula per postes transversales et medios subdividitur. Set de huiusmodi subdivisione transversali non est curandum in presenti [1rb] ordinacione, sed solum et dum taxat de distinccione domuncularum a summo usque ad deorsum, in quarum qualibet erunt duo distincti ordines librorum collocatorum ibidem; incipiendo numerum illorum ab infima parte cuiuslibet ordinis contenti in domuncula usque ad summum eius taliter, quod principium ordinis sequentis a

[1] Riproduco esattamente l' ortografia del manoscritto, ho soltanto (1) regolato l' uso del tutto arbitrario del *u* e *v* secondo le leggi dell' ortografia moderna, e (2) ho soppresso la reduplicazione del *s* e *f*, per es. nel *deorssum*, *ssumma*, *inffima*.

parte inferiori connumerando correspondeat fini ordinis precedentis, ipsum a parte superiori terminanti et eodem contextu numerus sequatur numerum.

Et sicut ipsa libraria distincta est in quatuor angulos sive quadros, sic et in quatuor armaria principalia. Nam in quolibet quadro est unum armarium, licet nullum istorum armariorum occupet totum quadrum, impedientibus tam portali quam fenestris dicte librarie; dempto uno, quod totum quadrum replet per longum ab uno angulo ad alium.

Secundo notandum, quod in dicta libraria sunt due fenestre et inter has duas fenestras est unum armarium, quod positum est in quadro dextero ab ingressu librarie. Et hoc armarium in tota presenti ordinacione consignabitur primum, ab eo quia in hoc sunt collocati primi libri, scilicet sacri canonis, qui meryto primi debent nominari; qui nichilominus propterea in dicto armario collocati sunt, quia hoc armarium videtur esse in loco convenciori tocius librarie et [1va] meliori[1] propter maiorem claritatis et lucis refulgenciam, quam[2] per fenestram sibi propinquam porcio orientalis ibidem comunicat, et dicti libri frequencius videantur et revolvantur quam alii; propter quod racionabiliter in loco magis opportuno semper sunt collocandi.

Et per consequens armarium, quod positum est in quadro statim sequenti a parte sinistra istius primi, in quo quidem quadro est portale librarie, et dictum armarium ad partem sinistram eiusdem portalis ingrediendo consignatur secundum armarium. Et aliud contiguum huic, quod positum est in quadro longiori statim sequenti et contiguo huic quadro secundo; quod quidem armarium totam quadri longitudinem replet ab angulo ad angulum; nam quamvis, ut supra tactum est, libraria sit quadrangularis, longior tamen est quam lata. Consignatur tercium armarium.

Reliquum vero huic contiguum, quod videlicet positum est in quarto quadro, in quo quidem quadro est fenestra librarie, consignatur quartum armarium.

Et sic epilogando tota libraria dividitur in quatuor armaria principalia, quodlibet armarium in certas domunculas; primum videlicet in quinque domunculas, secundum in duas, tercium in XI; quartum in duas; et quelibet domuncula in tot ordines, quot sunt in qualibet vie librorum ab infimo[3] usque ad sumum ordinate [1vb], non curando de distinccionibus domuncularum per postes transversales, ut supra tactum est.

[1] *Ms.* a viliori. [2] *Ms.* que.
[3] *Ms.* infime.

BIBLIOTECA PAPALE D'AVIGNONE

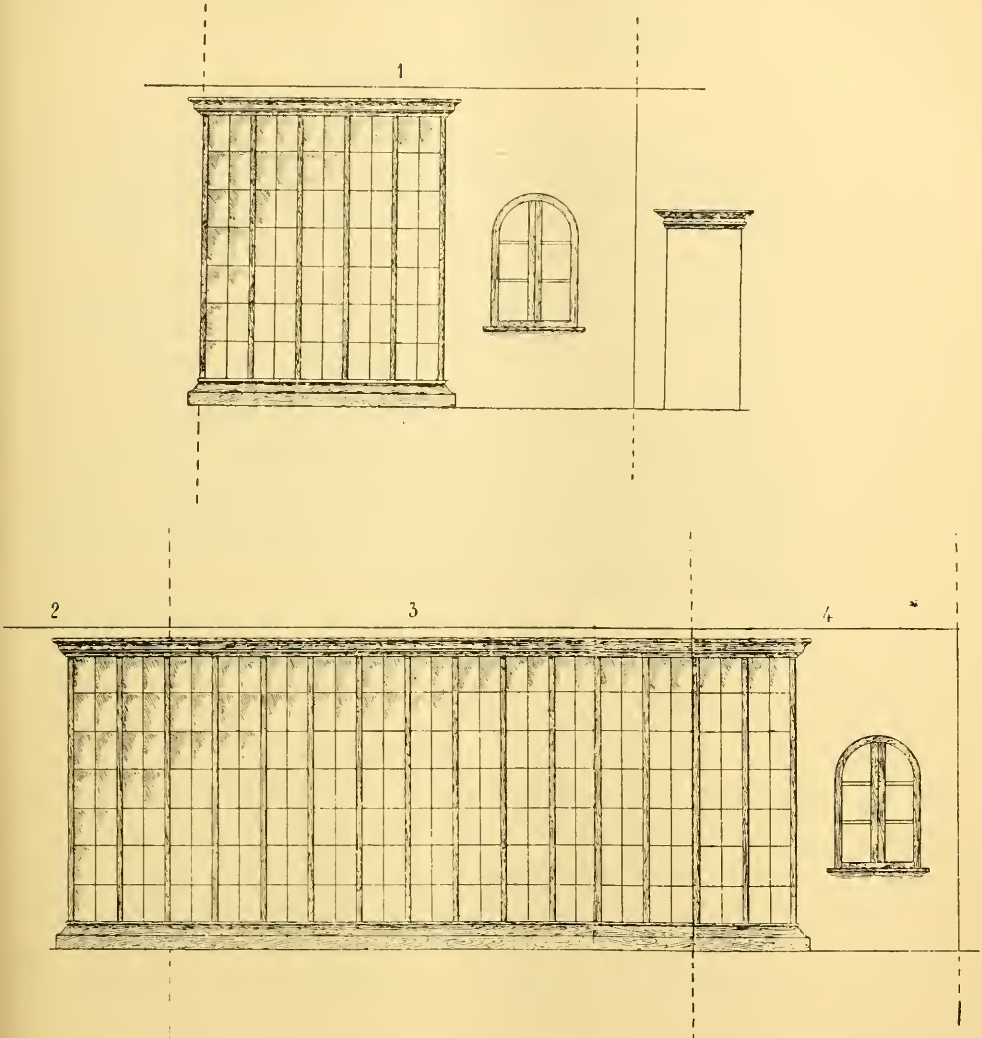


Figura I. (Cf. pp. 102, 114.)

Set ut hoc per absentes facilius comprehendatur, figuratur dicta libraria superficialiter et modo rudi.

[*Vedi Figura I.*]

Tercio notandum, quod per totam presentem ordinacionem in qualibet domuncula sunt tantum duo ordines librorum, scilicet due vie ab infimo usque ad sumum, demptis illis, ad quas replendas non sufficiunt volumina eiusdem facultatis. Quilibet ordo cuiuslibet domuncule incipit a principio pagine, sic quod semper primum volumen cuiuslibet ordinis, incipiendo numerum semper, ut pretactum est, ab infima parte ipsius ordinis, erit semper in principio pagine, et quote cuiuslibet ordinis, domuncule et armarii exprimentur in margine superiori cuiuslibet pagine ; ad quorum quotas, scilicet ordinis, domuncule et armarii, expressorum in dicto superiori margine, referentur omnes signature collateralium marginum designantes volumina per determinatum numerum, sic quod quando in signatura ipsius marginis collateralis dicetur : *in volumine signato per I* vel *per II* vel *per III* et c., intelligitur volumen signatum per talem numerum ; quod quidem volumen continetur in illo ordine illius domuncule et armarii, qui in prefato superiori margine sunt expressati.

FRANCESCO EHRLE, S.J.

ELEVEN LETTERS FROM HENRY BRADSHAW TO S. W. LAWLEY

Cambridge, Saturday morning.
August 21, 1880.

Dear Mr Lawley[1],

I have to thank you for both your welcome letters. Here is one[2] I wrote an hour after you left but did not send because later on, before post time, I had advanced in my ideas, to include all the printed service-books, and the matter was so fully in my head that I sat down in my room, and after thinking in peace for an hour over my paper, I put my work down on paper and it was half-past five in the morning before I knew where I was.

Fortunately for me it is not often now-a-days that I give way to such impulses, or my life would not be good for much. I shall send this home, and you will have my other results in a day or two when I can write them out fair. I will ask you to read these carefully over *at your leisure*, and give me your opinion. Meantime I will not worry you

[1] The recipient of these letters, the Hon. and Rev. Stephen Willoughby Lawley, was at the time engaged in editing the York Breviary for the Surtees Society. On August 17, 1880, we find from Bradshaw's Note-book that Mr Lawley came to see him at Cambridge.

[2] Unfortunately not to be found.

more at present. You will see I have added one postscript to my letter on page 4.

Yours very sincerely

Henry Bradshaw.

I should have thanked you for the stamps. Your ink will be in safe keeping for you.

University Library,
Cambridge. January 14, 1881.

My dear Mr Lawley,

I am afraid you will have fairly given me up as a hopeless case long before this. But I am going away for a week tomorrow to try and get some change though it will be chiefly work in the Libraries at Paris and Orleans[1], and I cannot leave without sending you a few lines which ought to have gone on Christmas Day.

It was very like you to send me one of those delightful coffee pots for Christmas, and though I have been silent all these weeks, yet no day has passed without you and your kindness being brought very vividly before me. It is not only the delight of having a memory of you and your gift so constantly before me, but as serving to keep up a recollection of what must always be a perfectly unique time in my life, those happy three days which I spent working with you[2] in London in December. I was

[1] This was for work on manuscripts of the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis*, which forms the subject of one of his *Memoranda*.

[2] It appears from Bradshaw's Note-book that on December 19, 1880, he was at Mr Lawley's rooms, 15 Warwick Street, collating Mr Sherbrooke's York Breviary.

so clogged with arrears of work and other unsatisfactory business, that those days are only just now beginning to bear their fruits, and I hope my week's change of air will help me to settle down to my term's work with new life and vigour. I have not been away at all. If I can go to Durham, York, and Ripon, it will be the last week in the month, *after the 26th*, when my first Library meeting[1] is held here. I should dearly like to work out the question of York printing and bookselling in connexion with these service-books. I do not want to be pedantically minute, but I owe it to you to be at least as satisfactory as I can from my own point of view. I will let you know what happens.

Ever yours most sincerely

Henry Bradshaw.

King's College,
Cambridge. April 2, 1881.

My dear Mr Lawley,

I was very much put out at not being able to see you in London. I went up to meet a precious book[2] which Lord Pembroke had sent up to London by special messenger for me; and I missed the man the first time he called at my sister's, and so had to wait some hours. I called in at Stewart's[3] to ask how the old man was, and I called

[1] i.e. of the Library Syndicate.

[2] A copy of the *Dialogi* of Gregory I printed at Strassburg by H. Eggestein, but with forged imprint attributing it to J. Gutenberg. See next letter.

[3] C. J. Stewart, the famous bookseller in King William Street.

at Mr Blew's[1] and just missed him. But this precious book was a weight round my neck, until I could bring it safe down here and deposit it. I dare not let it leave my hands or sight till it was safely locked up here. I must let you have two of the Breviaries at least. But, though I have done a great deal of satisfactory work on them, I must compare them with one or two at Oxford, and I must go there very soon, probably next week. I have a photographer coming down early next week, he was to have come this week or last, but couldn't, and all my arrangements hang together. When I have had the photographs done, I can go to Oxford, and when I have made my comparisons at Oxford, I must go to London and send Lord Pembroke's book back to Wilton, and when I have got it off my hands I long to see you and have a moment's freedom, which is more than I have had all this term.

Wordsworth just sends me a proof of a 'short notice' (several pages) of your book which he has written for the Church Quarterly Review. I have tinkered it up a little. It is an *affectionate* review, just like himself. He speaks of the misprints being really nothing worth mentioning. It is the only notice I have seen. By the bye when I last wrote was just after I had received your book. I was starting on an exploring expedition to Wilton, in search of this mysterious book professing to have Gutenberg's own imprint, said (even the book) to

[1] The Rev. W. J. Blew, editor of the Aberdeen Breviary, a great collector of liturgical books, and possessor of a unique York Breviary, now in the University Library, Cambridge.

be a fiction. I enjoyed my night and day there very much, and when I came back I found your dear letter waiting for me, which like a monster I have never yet answered. How I should indeed enjoy going to St Gall and elsewhere under your guidance. All that country is entirely unknown to me, and if I could worship at the shrine at Schaffhausen where the contemporary copy of Adamnan's Life of St Columba is preserved, the Patriarch (by centuries) of all Scotch books, I should be supremely happy. As a rule I am here July, August, and September, but I have concluded that I must not do this this year, as a week in October is hardly enough to carry one on to Christmas. The Library Association (a meeting of town and country mice) insists on coming here in the second week in August—but I must try and manage something. I shall hope anyhow to see you well before Easter.

I gave up Durham, York, and Ripon, in January, and did nothing but my week's work at Paris and Orleans, and I am very anxious to finish up my investigations about the York Press. Mr Kerslake[1] is very patient—so is everybody—and it is a shame not to be able to bring such matters to a satisfactory end.

I keep wondering whether you are on the first or second floor in those comfortable lodgings. You never can know what those three December days were to me—'Gallio' and all. But I must stop my stylograph or it will run on without end. I

[1] Mr Thomas Kerslake, a well-known bookseller (and antiquary) at Bristol, was the possessor of an Expositio Hymnorum, now in the John Rylands Library, Manchester.

think I can promise you a complete Sarum Breviary (PH + PE) before Monday is over, and the rest very soon. Please give my respects to Mr Blew. I felt so happy at (for a wonder) having a card when passing by the other day. Goodbye for the present. I wish I could do more to help you. Ever

Yours most sincerely

Henry Bradshaw.

University Library,

Cambridge. July 8, 1881.

My dear Lawley,

Your letter makes me very sad, to think of you in the midst of the tangle of such ungrateful complications. Even I know something of such things, and what is more to the point, I know also something of the utter thanklessness of the task. However one must go straight on, and do what is right, and light must come at last.

I am writing to Waldstein by this post, to say he must not expect me. They were to be at Wiesbaden till Monday next, and then his father and mother were to go to Freiburg (*your* Freiburg) and the little boy to Strassburg to finish his *Phidiaca* upon which he is hard at work. I should not see his father and mother, for I could not leave till Tuesday, and I could not therefore go to Darmstadt with him, and I could find nothing to do at Strassburg on my own account, so it is every way better for me to throw myself into my work here, and get my summer holiday by resuming my morning walks. Meantime I have a letter from

Lincoln today. The Dean is very anxious for me to come to him for a few days and work up the conclusion of my *Memorandum* on their Statutes—and this will at once set me up, to feel that I have finished with this, and put it behind my back. Your Gott[1] book is being done. Herkomer went away yesterday. You really must make his acquaintance. He has left a most happy impression behind him. He has left his etchings all behind him. So I shall go up on Monday, Tuesday, or Wednesday next (these are his three days in each week at his studio, 2 Eccleston Street) so as to take them to himself. I can't come up on Saturday—it is very like you to secure it for me. Is there a *chance* of your being back in town by Wednesday? You don't know what a blessed time that was for me at Oxford. It will stay by me when many things have gone. Goodbye, my dear man. The unselfish man will find his good reward.

Ever yours
Affectionately
Henry Bradshaw.

King's College,
Cambridge. July 14, 1881.

My dear Lawley,

July 15. I could not get further yesterday, though I longed to write to you about your dear letter. What a man you are—always thinking of your friends. I wish heartily I could have been

[1] Dr Gott, afterwards Bishop of Truro, possessed a unique volume of a York Breviary (the other volume, also unique, being in the British Museum). It seems probable that Bradshaw was having it bound for him.

with you at the funeral[1]. Coxe was so kind to me as far back as 1850, when I was much at Oxford as a freshman, when my brother and his wife were there. And I need hardly say that every year has only deepened my feeling for him.

As for the main point of your letter, it has completely upset me. I am not really a fatalist, but how *many* times have I said during the last few months; every decade of my life I have had a different home. Since my mother died ten years ago, Cambridge has been my *only* home; and I say to myself (and to others), Where, I wonder, will be my home during the next and last decade of my life? It is very silly—as [? and] to think of my saying to you in the vestibule of our College library looking at the print of Thomas Hyde the Orientalist (Bodley's librarian in Charles the Second's reign) 'When will another fellow of King's go to Oxford in that capacity?' Honestly the possibility of such a thing in my own case never once so much as crossed my mind; and it seems even now too ridiculous to think of, that Oxford cannot find a man among its own *alumni* amply qualified with the gifts of which we were speaking the other day. Of course it is a much greater library than ours, and a much higher position in every way—because whatever happens, Oxford must always stand much higher than Cambridge in the general estimation, and yet Cambridge men may nevertheless be quite content to be Cambridge men. My own fearful indolence and want of energy, to say nothing of my total ignorance of German, would to my mind be

[1] H. O. Coxe, Bodley's Librarian, 1860—1881.

an absolute bar. If you knew how strongly some people here feel about my defects in these very important points, I fear it would shake your confidence in me very seriously. But you don't know what a shock your letter has given me. The very idea of any one thinking such a thing within the bounds of possibility is enough to turn a stronger head than mine.

I only went up for the day on Wednesday—just to see Herkomer and take him his etchings that he had left here behind him. I was all packed up, G[1] and all, in the hopes of seeing you on Thursday—when I found my little bag would not lock, and I could not think of leaving G out of my sight in London in an unlocked bag. So I came straight home. You can see how fearfully I should have been disappointed if I had waited till Thursday and not found you.

Now I shall go up on Monday if possible, and work till Wednesday—when I must go to Lincoln and work there.

Mr Cooke[2] writes 'I never *lend* Books; to do so is against the Rule I make.' I wrote to thank him, telling him that certainty was a great satisfaction, because my object had been to compare his book side by side with the Bodleian and Museum copies, and this his Rule now renders impossible.

Enough of all this. I long to see you. Ever

Yours affectionately

Henry Bradshaw.

[1] Dr Gott's Breviary.

[2] Mr P. B. Davies Cooke, of Owston, Doncaster, also possessed a York Breviary.

[A fragment of a letter has been found, marked as written from Cambridge, August 23, 1881. What is left is not worth printing.]

King's College,
Cambridge. October 26, 1881.

My dear Lawley,

This is only a line to thank you for being so like yourself in your letter of today, and to say that I will write tomorrow. You know it is a greater honour than I have ever had paid to me in my life, to be even thought of for such a place—and I feel that though I shall almost certainly say *No* tomorrow, yet it is hardly respectful not even to sleep on such a thing. I have to dine with the Rayleighs[1] this evening (for the first time) or I should feel strongly inclined to come straight up to London and see you.

I have had a letter from Edmund Ffoulkes asking me for a testimonial, as he is inclined to stand for the place. I have not written to him yet, but it is very sad to think that they can't get any reasonable person actually in Oxford. I wish Bywater would be rational.

I must go and dress. I fear I shall be very much preoccupied this evening.

Yours always affectionately
Henry Bradshaw.

[1] Lord Rayleigh had recently succeeded Clerk Maxwell as Cavendish Professor of Experimental Physics.

King's College,
Cambridge. Sunday evening.
October 30, 1881.

My dear Lawley,

I have had a very anxious time of it, and I know I ought to have written to you before. But such a crisis in one's life does not often occur—of course nothing resembling it has ever occurred to me before,—and I cannot bear to decide on the spur of the moment, even though my final decision may be identical with my first impression. There are of course many things to be thought of, and well weighed; but I cannot have the least hesitation now in making up my mind that to stay where I am is the wisest and best course for myself, and certainly the best thing that could happen for the other people as well.

It is of no avail to write all the things which course through my mind on the question, but I should much like to talk to you some day. I have talked freely to one or two friends here, who have talked quite freely to me; and this has given me the means of looking at it in very various lights. I cannot say that I have been swayed by any one's arguments either for or against; but I have heard what was said, and I have seen the possible issues so clearly in consequence that I cannot feel justified in delaying any longer to write. It is very sobering in its effects, and if I feel, or seem, dull, it is dulled rather than dull, and I trust I shall be all the better for it. It is the most *critical* event in my quiet life, and I am very happy to think that your brother-like

kindness and helpfulness has been so mixed up with such a part of my life.

I hope it won't be very long before I see you again. I have heard from Mr Blew, so I ought to come up before very long. We are being inspected just at present.

Ever yours affectionately and gratefully

Henry Bradshaw.

King's College,
Cambridge. 4 April 1882.

My dear Lawley,

Four months complete silence—or is it more? You have had some little experience before, but you are now beginning to find out what I am, though every day many times you are brought before me by one thing or another.

I was away from Saturday evening till Tuesday at Christmas, and I have not stirred from Cambridge since. Every day and every night has brought its work, and I have been in one constant round of work, at the Library by day and in my rooms by night. I ought to have been away before this, and I have promised to go down to Truro to see Benson this Easter—and I ought to be with him early in the week. I wanted to have started last Thursday, and to have made my way to Salisbury and Exeter, and Devonport (to see my brother) and so to Truro, but now I cannot leave this till Saturday, perhaps not till Monday. If you came on Wednesday, as you propose (I pity you the journey from Harleston here), I could go on Thursday, and get to Truro

well before the end of the week, or *by* the end of the week, and it would be a real holiday to see you. My silence is really no index of my want or not-wishing to see you, for I have been longing to see you about all sorts of things. For one, I copied out a long piece of the York *Pica*[1] for your edification, to see how it would look, but I was stopped by want of a York *Proprium Sanctorum*. I have the original still here, and I shall not return it till the day I go away.

My head is crammed full of work of various kinds, and I seem to have no knowledge of every day outside world interests. You can see from this letter how preoccupied I am. But do please come, as you propose, on Wednesday, and I shall be quite happy. The few days extra work before starting will give me just the time I want. Forgive me.

Ever yours affectionately
Henry Bradshaw.

What is a Breviarium Frisingense, 1483, P. E., full of your pencil notes[2]?

King's College,
Cambridge. 6 April 1882.

My dear Lawley,

Then I shall do as you suggest—but it is very hard not seeing you. Still I shall hope to be a little more reasonable when I have had a small holiday.

[1] One of the only two copies of the York *Pica* or 'Pye' as a separate book is in the Library of Sidney Sussex College.

[2] This must refer to a volume afterwards (and perhaps then already) in the possession of the Rev. E. Atkinson, Master of Clare College, who presented it to the University Library in 1908.

As it is I shall go on Tuesday. It is the only day I can manage. Mr Blew shall have his books as soon as ever I come back. I have had them too long, far. When I am able to do more to them, I can come to Warwick Street[1] and have what I want across the street, without taking any one of them out of his reach. His kindness is unbounded, and my dilatoriness is very ungrateful.

Lunn[2] (not Lund) is in some hesitation, I believe. He talked of a possibility of publishing the Sarum *Pica*, with the various readings of the York book. But I cannot imagine anything more profitless. I must write to him again about it.

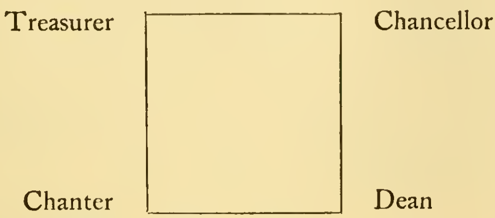
I have not yet seen the new *Monumenta*[3], as I have been too fully occupied even to go to the shops to look for it, so my only knowledge of it is derived from the Dissertation, which Maskell kindly sent me. I can quite believe what you say of the old edition being preferable to the new, in spite of new matter, as, judging from the Dissertation, every paragraph wants a mass of new matter to bring it in any way up to the knowledge of the day. In one place he speaks of a very precious series of parish accounts going back to the fifteenth century, as existing [1846] in its proper home, in Devonshire, but now [1881] (if I understand him rightly) as being in his own possession. I don't quite like the idea of any parish being at liberty to sell its old records to the first comer who offers a good sum for them.

[1] Where Mr Blew also lived.

[2] The Rev. J. R. Lunn, of St John's College, Vicar of Marton-cum-Grafton.

[3] *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, by W. Maskell.

I am at present in a great state of delight at having finally knocked the Sarum Consuetudinary on the head. I have been very sick, for some years, of hearing it called St Osmund's work, and I felt sure it was really the work of Richard Poore, the founder of the present Cathedral about 1220. And now at last I have got the actual Constitution of Osmund himself, dated 1091, and it is altogether the most interesting document I know, or have ever heard of, for my purpose. It seems the three great churches where this four-square arrangement of Chapter was established,



were your own beloved York, Lincoln, and Salisbury. All the others *gradually* adopted it, except London, but these are the three primitive establishments, and they are almost coincident.

York is *said* to be 1090. I wish I could find any document anywhere, or anything which would give me certain information.

Lincoln was Sept. 1–8, 1090, Thomas of York, and Osmund of Salisbury, both being witnesses.

Salisbury was early in 1091, Thomas of York, and Remigius of Lincoln, being both witnesses.

You read a great deal now-a-days of this constitution being of the usual Norman model (a

vague phrase), so I was at the pains to take all the Churches (44 of them) within a considerable range of Normandy, and see what their constitution was, in the *Gallia Christiana*, as a rough indication. The only one which is precisely Osmund's *institutio* at Salisbury, is *Bayeux*, where you have

Decanus, Cantor,
Cancellarius, Thesaurarius,
4 Archdeacons,
Subdecanus, Succentor.

Subdecanus is very rarely found in France. Now Thomas of York was himself *Treasurer of Bayeux*, and Bayeux was a church with greater prestige in some respects than even Rouen. Is it not pretty? I should like you to see my schedule of the different constitutions showing how they tell their own story. Goodnight and forgive me.

Ever yours affectionately
Henry Bradshaw.

King's College,
Cambridge. 20 August 1882.

My dear Lawley,

I shall do my best to see you on Wednesday evening next, and I will bring up the books with me then. On Wednesday afternoon I have a Committee meeting about the Library Association, and I am desperate about getting a day in London, as there are heaps of things I *must* do, and I have not been able to get one single day there since Novem-

ber or December last. I proposed to bring up the books late last summer, and then Mr Blew was away from home and I did not hear from him till he returned a month or six weeks later, and since then I have had literally no opportunity.

The Association people come tomorrow fortnight. Most University people snub the whole thing and go away, so I have double work in the way of thought, letter-writing, and responsibility. I have asked some five and thirty people to come and stay with me in College for the week, and twenty have had great pleasure in saying yes. So you can perhaps believe that I have enough on my hands—what with preparing my opening address, and general materials for work and discussion.

Fortunately for you, my having to write such incessant letters during the last fortnight makes it more easy for me to write at once to you, than when I am in a more un-writing mood, as I generally am.

I am afraid it is quite impossible for me to think of getting away so far as Mr Sherbrooke's[1], much as I should like it. There are some twenty things I must do in London, and I cannot give more than one whole day, or two nights at the outside, to it.

You tell me nothing of your own work, and how you are getting on. I have been destroying thousands of letters and papers, and have got some fifty of yours lying together which I have not the heart to destroy. My year has gone, and I seem to have

[1] Mr H. Sherbrooke, of Oxton, Southwell, was the owner of a unique York Breviary. It was sold at Sotheby's in May, 1887, and after being for some time in Mr Lawley's possession was by him transferred to the University Library, Cambridge.

next to nothing to show for it, at least since March last. I only hope you are nearly through with your Sanctorale[1]. It is so delightful to me to hear, wherever I go, where there is any talk about liturgical work, what a model of an edition your York Breviary is, in its readableness and simplicity and total absence of affectation. So many have said the same, who have used, and use, whatever is to be had in that way.

Do forgive me for my hopelessness.

Ever yours

Henry Bradshaw.

King's College,
Cambridge. 17 October 1882.

My dear Lawley,

I am longing to get a day (or two nights if possible) in London, and I shall try for Friday this week. Only I have a meeting on Saturday at 11 a.m. at which I must be present.

I return your proof slip knocked about. It looks extremely nice, and I could not possibly wish to see anything look better. The only point I object to is your mode of indexing. I know it is adopted by many great authorities and by many practical people; for my own part I cannot see it. It is what I call

[1] The Saints' day portion of the Breviary.

the Sanskrit plan, by which all the words are run together and treated as one; thus, instead of

Law
Law divine
Law human
Law moral
Lawder
Lawford
Lawley
Lawton

you have

Law
Lawder
Law divine
Lawford
Law human
Lawley
Law moral
Lawton

just as if the words were Lawdivine, Lawhuman, Lawmoral, &c.

You will see by the enclosed slip[1] what I mean. I am sure it would not involve any great amount of alteration of copy.

We had a great discussion last term about it on the Library Syndicate, Luard[2] and others strongly advocating your plan. But today somebody wanted an Arabic writer *Ali* something or other, and we found in the catalogue that Ali Baba was separated from Ali Musa by a lot of Aliberts, Alienus, &c., groups of Ali... then names like

[1] Now lost.

[2] H. R. Luard, Registrary of the University.

Alison, then more Ali's and so on, until it was quite bewildering. The rule of taking the first word A or Ab or Ad and keeping *words* together is much more to my taste. But you have no doubt thought it over, and in no case is it a crotchet of your own or any one else.

I have only been away for one week since I saw you last. Tuesday, Oct. 3 to Tuesday, Oct. 8. [10] I went over to Antwerp, Ghent, and Bruges with Waldstein—and enjoyed it enormously, working all day and reading proofs all evening. I am longing to verify my Antwerp results at the Museum. I had a good spell at the little Sarum Breviary of 1499, which belonged to the Bollandists and is now in the Musée Plantin. It is quite unique and spotlessly perfect.

Work seems to increase upon one daily, but my Librarians meeting did me an enormous amount of good. It was like a three or four weeks holiday in the Alps—the entire change—and the complete absence of jar, not a shadow of a thing going wrong. I had not the face to run away after the meeting—I felt so completely set up by it—so I remained here and did a quantity of necessary work.

I hope you have had a nice summer of it, and I hope to find you in an excellent state of progress and good spirits accordingly. Waldstein has just given his first lecture at Rugby, and enjoyed his time there immensely.

Ever yours affectionately

Henry Bradshaw.

CERTAIN DISQUISITIONS by John Barwick and other Cambridge Divines, published in 1644. A point of Bibliography.

The fate of Cambridge during the Civil War was very different from that of Oxford. While Oxford became the headquarters of the King's Army, the seat of government and the residence of the Court, and was held stoutly for the King until June 1646, Cambridge was early overwhelmed by the tide of Parliamentarian feeling in the Eastern Counties, and had barely time to send some of its College Plate for the service of the King, when Cromwell, in August 1642, was entrusted with the care of the town which had elected him one of its representatives at Westminster. The University, which was probably as Royalist at heart as that of Oxford, had no chance of asserting itself, and what with the strong garrison and the feeling of the citizens, lay very low during 1642 and 1643. In January 164$^{3}_{4}$ this negative attitude, which half concealed and half revealed a large amount of obstinate Royalism, was sternly dealt with, and an Ordinance for regulating the University, passed on the 22nd, was followed on February 5 by an Order

that the Solemn League and Covenant should be taken by every member of the academic body. This decided step naturally produced a lively resentment, and while many Fellows of Colleges were ejected and other insults were offered, a band of Cambridge Divines bethought them of wielding the pen instead of the sword, and drew up a learned and able reply to the demand that they should subscribe the obnoxious formula. The Vice-Chancellor (Dr Ralph Brownrigg of St Catherine's), though strongly urged in a sermon by Mr Peter Gunning, prevented the book from being formally approved by the University, and it was accordingly issued without any official sanction and even without its authors' names. The title and technical description of the volume are as follows:

"CERTAIN | DISQUISITIONS | AND | CONSIDERATIONS | Representing to the Conscience the | unlawfulnesse of the Oath, entituled, *A* | *solemn League and Covenant for* | *Reformation &c.* | As also the insufficiency of the | Arguments used in the Exhortation for | taking the said Covenant. | ...*Published by command.*" | (For imprint, see later: 1644: small quarto: pages [2]+49+[1], signatures A—F⁴ G²: contents:—p. [1] title; 1—49, the Disquisitions; [1] "The Printers Postscript to the Reader": some copies have an extra leaf inserted after the title bearing "The Remonstrance of the Associated Counties, to the University of Cambridge, Concerning the late Covenant.")

The chief writer and organiser of this decidedly rare treatise was John Barwick, then M.A. of St John's College, afterwards (in Restoration times) Dean of Durham and finally of St Paul's. With him were associated six other Fellows of Colleges, ejected or soon to be ejected, Willam Lacey of

St John's, Isaac Barrow of Peterhouse, Seth Ward of Sidney Sussex, Edmund Boldero of Pembroke, William Quarles of Pembroke, and Peter Gunning of Clare. The circumstances of the composition are known from the *Vita Johannis Barwick*, or the *Life of Dr John Barwick* by his brother Dr Peter Barwick (London, in Latin 1721, in English 1724). Each of them, it is there declared (*Vita*, p. 22, *Life*, p. 40), "took his particular Share of this wicked Covenant to confute, and bringing his Part of the work to Mr *Gunning's* Chamber, there they all conferr'd and agreed upon the whole." In the work as issued there is no trace of divided authorship: each section of the Covenant is separately taken and refuted, without any preface and with but a short summing up at the end. It is however the most important manifesto written at Cambridge during the Civil War and with the *Querela Cantabrigiensis* of 1646 forms the weightiest appeal made by the still Royalist University to the sympathy of the world outside. The inserted Remonstrance, which in some copies precedes the Disquisitions, was designed to strengthen the hands of the University, and calls upon it to declare its "unanimous dissent from the taking of this Oath."

But it is the circumstances of production in which for the present purpose the interest is centred. After failing to obtain publication in the name of the University, the authors seem to have made what arrangements they could for printing, and then to have agreed to disperse, being all suspects, if not ejected from their Fellowships. Barwick went to London (*Vita*, p. 25, *Life*, p. 45)

to Bishop Morton's house, Gunning and Barrow to Oxford (*Life*, p. 35 *n.*), the rest to various places. But what became of the book? The following is Peter Barwick's account, derived no doubt from his brother's avowal:

Vita, p. 21.	*Life*, p. 33.
Verùm hoc opus sub prælo adhuc sudans, confœderatis nimiùm nasutis suboluit, quorum multum intererat illud in publicum non prodire; qui magnam partem Exemplarium impressorum, ex improviso lictoribus immissis, corripiunt, & igni confestim mandant; nonnulla tamen clam à Librariis celata etiamnum supersunt.	But the Faction, who had too much Interest in preventing the Publication of this Piece, having got Intelligence thereof, sent their Messengers unexpectedly to the Press, and seizing upon the Impression, committed it immediately to the Flames; yet some few Copies of it, privately conceal'd by the Booksellers, are still extant.

So far all is clear, except that no place of printing is disclosed.

In 1685 in *A discourse deliver'd in two Sermons ...Not long after the Death of...Peter Gunning...* Dr Humfrey Gower, the Master of St John's College, referred to the work before us and stated that "printed it was, tho' most of the impression was seiz'd at London, before it could get abroad" (p. 17: *Life of Barwick*, p. 35 *n.*). This authoritative statement seemed to show that there was a London edition: on the other hand no copy bearing a London imprint has ever been found, and the few copies of the work which have come down to our days all bear the imprint:

"Oxford, | Printed by Leonard Lichfield | Printer to the Universitie. | 1644."

This edition contains a notice by the Printer

that a copy "accidentally comming to the hands of some, at whose command I am, was thought fit to be published, though without the knowledge and approbation of the Authors," and further on he implies that the work was written elsewhere than at Oxford and had been copied many times before it came to his own hands. There is no mention of any previous edition. It may be noted here as showing the trustworthiness of the information of George Thomason, the London bookseller and publisher who amassed the vast collection of Civil War Tracts now in the British Museum, that when he received the book in London on April 17, 1644, he wrote on the title-page that it was "said to be written by the University of Cambridge."

From what has been stated above it has been necessary hitherto for bibliographers to assume a first London edition, of which no copy is known, and a second Oxford edition presumably printed from a manuscript or from a copy of the first issue which for the time escaped the conflagration. And this is the received account, as for instance we find in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, *s.v.* Barwick: "The first edition was immediately seized and burned, so that the earliest edition is the second, published in 1644." Indeed the conclusion appeared to be inevitable from the data: for the malcontents could not possibly have seized on the book while at the press at Oxford, the Royalist headquarters: whereas a London edition might well have been utterly suppressed, and nothing was more likely in such a case than that

an Oxford edition should be printed from a surviving manuscript or printed copy, for the use of Royalists.

But the facts are otherwise. During a prolonged study of the Oxford Press during the Civil War, one of the most striking features which has emerged is the number of counterfeit Oxford imprints during the years 1642—4. Out of 191 Oxford imprints in 1642, no less than 58 are London counterfeits; in 1643, 41 out of 238; and in 1644, 24 out of 145. From March 25 to April 17, 1644, there are as many false imprints found as there are genuine. And it is in this particular period last-mentioned that the issue of the Disquisitions took place—for they probably came out on April 16, 1644, since Thomason received them (in London) on the following day—so that even by *a priori* reasoning it was as likely that the book should have been really printed at London as at Oxford, in spite of the statement on the title-page. As a fact there is no question at all that we have before us a piece of London printing, and that the Printer's notice is all bluff. It is sufficient to state that the capital S on p. 2 is quite unknown at Oxford. So Occam's sharp razor comes into work: the supposed second edition is shorn off, and we are left with a single original London edition bearing a counterfeit Oxford imprint. The great majority of the copies issued were no doubt seized and burnt, but a sufficient number survive to tell their tale with clearness and decision, and it is possible to offer Mr Clark one of them to accompany this slight essay.

A certain interest will always be attached to the treatise, not only as being the most important Cambridge work produced during the acute stage of the Civil War, but also because in its almost romantic story Cambridge, Oxford and London each bear a part.

F. MADAN.

LE REGISTRE DES DÉPENSES DE LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE VATICANE DE 1548 À 1555

La Bibliothèque apostolique avait eu, dès le XIVe siècle, des fonctionnaires consciencieux, dont le zèle est attesté par les inventaires rédigés au cours de leur gestion. Mais jamais peut-être plus grands efforts ne furent faits, pour l'entretenir et l'accroître, que de 1548 environ à 1555, sous le protectorat d'abord, puis sous le bibliothécariat du cardinal Marcello Cervini, élu pape en 1555 sous le nom de Marcel II. Il est vrai que la Vaticane, négligée sous Adrien VI, gravement atteinte lors du sac de 1527[1], n'avait pu être entièrement réorganisée sous Clément VII, malgré la bonne volonté de ce Médicis, par malheur trop peu ferme et trop peu méthodique en ses desseins. Les ordres qu'il donna, soit pour faire rentrer les livres dérobés en 1527[2], soit pour en faire rechercher de nouveaux[3], ne paraissent pas avoir eu de

[1] Voy. Léon Dorez, *Le sac de Rome* (1527) ; *relation inédite de Jean Cave, Orléanais* (Rome, 1896, in-8 ; extr. des *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* publiés par l'École française de Rome, t. XVI), pp. 16–23.

[2] Bref adressé aux custodes Romolo Mammacini et Fausto Sabeo, 22 juillet 1529 (*Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, Torino, t. IX, 1887, p. 454).

[3] Commission délivrée par le cardinal Francesco Armellini à Jean Ininers ou Heynniners [Heytmers ?], acolyte du saint Siége, le 7 janvier 1526 (Archives du Vatican, *Clém. VII Div. Cam.*, t. 4, fol. 46 v°).

notables conséquences. Il eût fallu, d'ailleurs, commencer par améliorer le service intérieur ; mais les embarras financiers ne permettaient guère alors de songer à accroître le nombre des employés et par là même les frais d'administration. Girolamo Aleandro, bibliothécaire depuis 1519, s'était peu à peu détourné de ses premières études pour se jeter dans la diplomatie[1], et l'inventaire achevé en septembre 1533 par Fausto Sabeo et Niccolò Maiorano (*Vat. lat.* 3951) fut remis, en son absence, à l'évêque de Fiesole, Braccio Martelli[2], qu'il avait sans doute officieusement chargé de le suppléer[3]. Lors de sa promotion au cardinalat (1538)[4], Aleandro dut se résigner à abandonner le poste qu'il avait si longtemps tenu à conserver[5], et il fut remplacé par un chanoine régulier, Agostino Steuco de Gubbio, évêque de Kissamos

[1] Aleandro, savant helléniste, avait cependant trouvé le temps, entre 1519 et 1521, de rédiger un inventaire des manuscrits grecs de la "Bibliotheca magna publica." C'est le *Vat. græc.* 1483, qui porte, au fol. 2 v°, le titre suivant, probablement de la main d'Aleandro lui-même : ΙΣ ΧΣ. *Ἐπὶ Λέοντος δεκάτου τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς καὶ οἰκουμενϊκῆς ἁπάσης Ἐκκλησίας μεγίστου ἀρχιερέως. Πίναξ ἤτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν κοινῇ στοᾷ τῆς ἱερᾶς Παλατίνης Βιβλιοθήκης νῦν εὑρεθένθων ἑλληνικῶν βιβλίων. Ἱερωνύμου τοῦ Ἀλεάνδρου ἐπιστάτου* (petit in-folio remonté, papier, 166 feuillets ; entièrement en grec).

[2] Eugène Müntz, *La Bibliothèque du Vatican au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1886, petit in-12), p. 66.—Le volume compte 296 feuillets et forme un inventaire général de la Bibliothèque.

[3] A telles enseignes qu'il en détenait certaines clefs : "...repositi in eisdem capsis et duabus clavibus ; clavis altera enim est in manu R.di episcopi Fesulani, altera vero nobis custodibus assignata." *Vat. lat.* 3951, fol. 70 v° (note de la main de Sabeo).

[4] Aleandro fut créé cardinal *in petto* dans le consistoire du 22 décembre 1536, mais il ne fut publié que dans l'un des consistoires de la fin de 1538, probablement dans celui du 18 octobre, puisque la nomination de Steuco porte la date du 24 de ce mois.

[5] Son poste devait faire l'objet de nombreuses sollicitations ; car il crut prudent de se faire confirmer au moins deux fois dans ses fonctions, le 25 août 1531 et le 8 mars 1533. Voy. Léon Dorez, *Une lettre de Gilles de Gourmont à Girolamo Aleandro* (1531) *suivie de documents nouveaux sur Aleandro*, dans la *Revue des Bibliothèques*, t. VIII (1898), p. 235, n°s 24 et 26 *bis*.

en Crète[1], qui, tout entier à ses études théologiques et souvent valétudinaire, semble avoir quelque peu oublié la Bibliothèque[2]. Aussi, peut-être dès le mois de février 1542[3], le pape Paul III autorisa-t-il le cardinal Cervini, l'ancien précepteur de ses petits-fils, à s'occuper de la Vaticane sans fonctions bien définies ; car le prélat était trop délicat pour accepter ouvertement, même sans les émoluments, une charge déjà pourvue d'un titulaire. Très probablement il sollicita lui-même cette tâche pour suppléer à l'autorité qui manquait à Steuco, habitué depuis 1538 à laisser tout gouverner par Aleandro[4]. Ce qui semble certain, comme on le voit par la correspondance échangée entre Sirleto, Maffei et Cervini, c'est que celui-ci exerçait, ainsi que l'on disait alors, sa "protection" sur la Vaticane.

Quelle qu'en soit la date exacte, cette désignation était une véritable révolution. Jamais, en effet, la

[1] Voy. Prospero Cavalieri, *Biblioteca compendiosa degli uomini illustri della Congregazione de' canonici regulari del SS. Salvatore Lateranensi nelle scienze e belle arti* (Velletri, 1836, in-8), p. 22 et suiv.

[2] Cependant, pour n'être pas injuste, il faut rappeler que Steuco rédigea ou plutôt fit rédiger, vers 1539, un inventaire des manuscrits grecs de la Vaticane : la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris en possède un exemplaire destiné, comme il est dit dans un titre en style courtisanesque, au cardinal de Ferrare, Ippolito d'Este, alors nonce à la cour du roi Henri II (ms. grec 3062 ; 119 feuillets). Il protestait d'ailleurs très fort lorsqu'il était accusé de négligence (cf. ci-dessous).

[3] C'est au moins ce que prétend Pietro Polidori (*De vita, gestis et moribus Marcelli II*, Romae, 1744, in-4, p. 44 et suiv.), et ce que Cavalieri (*op. cit.*, pp. 47–48) accepte sans trop d'enthousiasme. Il n'y eut certainement ni lettres de nomination ni motu proprio, mais une délégation *vivæ vocis oraculo*.

[4] Cela paraît ressortir d'une lettre écrite à Cervini par Maffei, le 30 août 1540 : "De libri de Concilii in Roma se ne troveranno molti et tra l'altri n'ho fatti restituire doi molto grandi da messer Giovanni Greco che erano tra libri di N.S., ma in somma il Brundusino vuol essere il tiranno di simili cose, et bisogna cederli. Pure io non mancherò di buscare qualche cosa." Archivio di Stato de Florence, *Carte Cerviniane*, filza 20 (anc. 15), fol. 57 v°.—Les registres et en général tous les "documents d'archives" étaient conservés dans la Bibliothèque secrète ; l'*Archivio Vaticano*, dont l'idée remonte aux pontificats de Pie IV et de Pie V, ne fut définitivement fondé que sous Paul V.

Bibliothèque n'avait eu de cardinal à sa tête. La décision de Paul III, si discrète qu'elle fût tout d'abord, signifiait à tous sa volonté de ramener l'ordre et la vie dans ces salles où régnaient l'indifférence et l'incurie. Le pape connaissait assez la science et la calme énergie de Cervini pour lui confier une tâche aussi difficile. Il savait que, par amour pour les lettres anciennes et les textes sacrés, son protégé ne répugnerait pas à s'occuper des moindres détails, et que son exquise bienveillance saurait triompher de tous les obstacles sans déployer une malencontreuse sévérité. Paul III ne se trompait pas, et le registre que nous publions est, dans sa précision un peu sèche, une des preuves les plus éloquentes de sa clairvoyance.

En 1542, le haut personnel de la Vaticane se composait des personnages suivants: Agostino Steuco, bibliothécaire depuis le 27 octobre 1538; Fausto Sabeo, custode depuis 1522, et Niccolò Maiorano, second custode depuis 1532. A ces employés supérieurs il faut ajouter les *scriptores*, qui font leur première apparition sous Paul III: un *scriptor* grec, Jean Honorius, *librorum græcorum instaurator* depuis 1535, et un *scriptor* latin, Ferdinando Roano, clerc du diocèse de Badajoz, depuis 1541. Cervini se rendit bientôt compte que, pour obtenir un travail utile, ces cinq collaborateurs étaient insuffisants, et il s'efforça, à travers mille difficultés, d'en accroître le nombre et d'en bien déterminer les attributions.

Dans le ferme espoir qu'un jour, plus ou moins prochain, il pourrait réorganiser la Bibliothèque sans porter ombrage au bibliothécaire, il s'initia tranquillement, prudemment, à tous les détails de son

administration, et pour être certain que pendant ses absences le mal qu'il avait constaté n'irait pas empirant, il introduisit auprès du personnel ordinaire un homme sûr et attentif. Cet homme doux, candide, laborieux, désintéressé, ne pouvait inspirer de défiance à qui que ce fût, et de fait, Guglielmo Sirleto —car c'était lui—attendit de longues années la récompense de ses travaux et de son dévouement[1]. Penché sur les manuscrits, où il était ravi de trouver tant de beaux textes, Sirleto ne quittait guère les chambres de la Vaticane où il se liait avec le bibliothécaire[2], les custodes[3], les *scriptores*[4] et les visiteurs[5]. Tout en cherchant les passages des auteurs qui pouvaient être utiles à Cervini, il observait, presque sans y tâcher, les habitudes bonnes ou mauvaises, plutôt mauvaises, du groupe où il vivait familièrement, et sans nul doute le cardinal, à son retour à la maison, savait lui faire dire, point par point, tout ce qui se passait dans ce petit monde un peu trop abandonné à lui-même.

Ainsi renseigné, Cervini s'inquiéta de plus en plus du sort de la Bibliothèque pontificale. Il dut, à de nombreuses reprises, en entretenir Paul III, et

[1] Sirleto ne fut nommé custode qu'entre le 12 juin 1553 et le 3 janvier 1554, en remplacement de Maiorano. Il fut ensuite cardinal-bibliothécaire de 1570 à 1585.—On trouvera une agréable biographie de Sirleto dans le petit livre de Pierre Batiffol, *La Vaticane de Paul III à Paul V* (Paris, 1890, in-18).

[2] Le 28 avril 1546, il fait à Cervini l'éloge de Steuco et de son livre sur la donation de Constantin. (*Vat. lat.* 6177, fol. 80.)

[3] Le 19 décembre 1545, il écrit à Cervini : "Questi dì passati, un' amico me domandò, il qual fu messer Fausto, che io le traducesse una epistola che manda san Basilio a sant' Ambrosio ; l' ho tradotta..." *Ibid.*, fol. 166.—On verra plus loin qu'il travaillait avec Maiorano.

[4] Il employa plusieurs fois Onorio à faire des copies de manuscrits grecs pour Cervini.

[5] Par exemple Basilio Zanchi, dont il sera question plus loin. (*Ibid.*, fol. 74, 102, etc.)

lorsqu'il fut obligé de se rendre à Trente, pour le Concile, il transmit, avec l'assentiment du pape, ses pouvoirs tacites au secrétaire du cardinal Alessandro Farnese, à ce savant Bernardino Maffei qu'il aimait comme un frère. A partir de ce moment, Sirleto prit décidément pied à la Vaticane, où il était chargé de découvrir les textes dont les légats avaient besoin dans les discussions du Concile. C'est au cours d'une de ces recherches qu'éclata avec Steuco un conflit caractéristique. Sirleto avait demandé un manuscrit de l'ouvrage de Théodoret contre les hérésies, et on ne le retrouvait pas. Sabeo manifestait son étonnement; Maiorano jurait qu'il avait vu le volume huit jours auparavant; mais la place était bel et bien vide, et Steuco ne paraissait pas à la Bibliothèque! Sirleto écrivait à Cervini, le 17 janvier 1546, que Sabeo lui avait promis de tout faire pour trouver le manuscrit et, s'il ne se retrouvait pas, de "crier" bien fort, "perchè non è bene che li libri vadano a questo modo[1]." Giambattista Cervini fit une scène à ce pauvre Steuco, lui disant "que la Bibliothèque était mal tenue, que les livres se perdaient." Le bibliothécaire se rendit aussi à la Bibliothèque et trouva immédiatement le *Théodoret* égaré, en présence de Maiorano "et de vos autres familiers," écrit-il à Cervini[2]. Ce que Steuco se garde bien d'avouer, c'est que, selon sa déplorable habitude, il avait probablement emprunté le volume sans l'inscrire au registre du prêt, ou bien qu'il l'avait déplacé à l'insu des custodes. Il se défend avec une vivacité assez

[1] *Vat. lat.* 6177, fol. 141 v°.

[2] Lettre de Steuco à Cervini, 5 février 1546, dans August von Druffel, *Monumenta Tridentina* (München, 1884, gr. in-4), p. 374, n° 27, avec plusieurs fautes de lecture.

peu habile qui ne peut que le faire soupçonner d'incurie. Il faut convenir qu'il était très ému : Cervini avait parlé de porter plainte devant Maffei et le cardinal Farnese[1].

Il semble d'ailleurs que Cervini avait contre Steuco d'autres griefs encore. Il ne pouvait pas ignorer que son compatriote Ambrogio Catarino Politi, le fougueux adversaire de Luther, avait cru découvrir des propositions hérétiques dans la *Cosmopoeia* du bibliothécaire, et que telle était l'opinion de plus d'un théologien catholique : en 1546, précisément au mois de janvier, le docteur espagnol Domingo Soto, alors à Bologne, renouvelait ces accusations devant Angelo Massarelli, "guardarobba" de Cervini et secrétaire du Concile[2]. Sans se départir de son habituelle mansuétude, le cardinal ne pouvait se défendre de quelque antipathie pour Steuco, qui pourtant ne paraît pas s'en être aperçu, tant le prélat était maître de lui-même. Mais ce sentiment se fait jour dans la correspondance de Cervini qui s'intéresse beaucoup plus, malgré leurs médiocres services, à Sabeo et à Maiorano. Il est vrai que dans le premier il estime le vieux serviteur et l'habile poète latin[3]; dans le second, un de ses plus anciens auxiliaires[4], qu'il avait associé à une de ses plus chères entreprises[5].

[1] Voy. Sebastianus Merkle, *Concilii Tridentini Diariorum pars prima* (Friburgi Brisgoviae, 1901, gr. in-4), p. 369 n. 8.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 381.

[3] Faerno le poursuivait, comme tous ses protecteurs, de ses épigrammes latines, parfois spirituelles, mais toujours effrontément quémandeuses. Trois de ces épigrammes, transcrites de la belle main de l'auteur, se trouvent, sur un même feuillet, dans la filza 51 (anc. 39) des *Carte Cerviniane*, à l'Archivio di Stato de Florence.

[4] Lettres de Cervini à Biagio Cervini, Castiglione di Val d' Orcia, 2 mai et 1er juin 1533. *Carte Cervin.*, filza 49 (anc. 37).

[5] Cf. Léon Dorez, *Le cardinal Marcello Cervini et l'imprimerie à Rome*,

Aussi les lettres qu'il écrit à Maiorano[1], les bonnes paroles qu'il adresse à Sabeo forment-elles un frappant contraste avec les reproches qu'il ne ménage pas à Steuco. Le 27 juin 1545, six mois avant l'incident dont nous venons de parler, il le rappelle déjà à son devoir[2]. C'est peut-être pour échapper à ces remontrances que le bibliothécaire, en septembre 1547, résolut de se rendre à Bologne, où le Concile venait d'être transféré.

Conscients du grand rôle alors confié à Cervini et de celui, peut-être moins brillant mais plus important pour eux, qu'il devait jouer à Rome après la clôture du Concile, custodes et écrivains cherchent à se concilier ses bonnes grâces. Ils travaillent de leur mieux et chargent Sirleto, qui s'en acquitte avec bienveillance, d'informer de leur bonne volonté le "padrone" absent. La situation difficile et la santé chancelante de Steuco leur inspiraient, autant que leurs défaillances personnelles, cette attitude qui, pour être quelque peu nouvelle, n'avait cependant rien d'hypocrite ni de déshonorant. Ils pressentaient que la crise décisive allait s'ouvrir.

Elle s'ouvrit en effet au mois de mars 1548. Le bibliothécaire était encore à Bologne le 27 janvier, où il assistait à une réunion ; mais bientôt, à une date qui ne peut être précisée, il était obligé par la maladie de se retirer dans son couvent de Venise et il y mourait subitement vers le 15 mars, à 53 ans. Dès qu'ils

1539–1550 (Rome, 1892, in-8 ; extr. des *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* publiés par l'École française, t. XII, p. 7 et suiv.).

[1] Par exemple celle du 27 juin 1545, dont Massarelli a laissé une analyse (Merkle, *op. cit.*, p. 210).

[2] Massarelli, dans Merkle, p. 210 : "Al vescovo di Chisamo a Roma, della 8 sinodo trovata, et dell' haver cura più alli libri."

apprirent la nouvelle de son décès, les légats en firent part, le 19, au cardinal Alessandro Farnese[1]. Steuco avait dû quitter Bologne précipitamment ; car il y avait laissé tous ses bagages, dont les légats, en vertu du *jus spolii*, firent dresser un inventaire[2]. Cette formalité, qui en tout état de cause devait être remplie, le fut peut-être avec plus de soin à la suite d'une lettre de Sirleto annonçant à Cervini, de la part de Sabeo, que le défunt avait sans doute emporté à Bologne quelques livres de la Vaticane[3]. On n'en trouva que deux, un grec et un hébreu[4] ; mais le cardinal, mis sur ses gardes par l'avis de son fidèle familier, lui manda qu'il espérait bien que l'on avait pensé à visiter à Rome les caisses de Steuco.

Cet incident montrait le sans-gêne avec lequel le bibliothécaire disposait des livres confiés à ses soins ; mais il passa presque inaperçu au milieu des ambitions qui se pressaient autour de la place vacante. Ne connaissant que trop bien les appétits des gens de la curie, Cervini put croire tout d'abord qu'il ne réussirait pas à réaliser les projets dès longtemps caressés au sujet de la Bibliothèque ; mais il ne perdit pas courage. S'il écrivait à Sirleto, le 26 mars, qu'il fallait prier Dieu d'inspirer au pape un bon choix " de sorte que cette Bibliothèque soit mieux tenue qu'elle ne l'a été par le passé," il ne s'en remettait pas entièrement à la Providence et faisait agir ses amis auprès de Paul III[5]. Le 27, Maffei répondait à une lettre qui ne nous a pas été conservée, mais où Cervini avait certainement

[1] Merkle, p. 741.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 753–757 (22 mars au 4 juillet 1548). Massarelli fit ou commença l'inventaire le 22 mars, en présence du cardinal Giovanni Morone.

[3] *Vat. lat.* 6177, fol. 117 (21 mars 1548).

[4] Lettre de Cervini à Sirleto, 26 mars (*Vat. lat.* 6178, fol. 138).

[5] *Vat. lat.* 6178, fol. 138.

proposé au pape de continuer ses bons offices à la Vaticane d'une manière plus efficace, en prenant ouvertement le titre de "protecteur de la Bibliothèque[1]" et en consacrant aux besoins de celle-ci le traitement du bibliothécaire. Paul III agréait provisoirement les offres du cardinal, mais *in petto* il entendait ne point faire d'innovation et disposer, le cas échéant, de la place et du traitement de Steuco. Cependant, "pour tenir ces custodes très négligents dans leur devoir," Maffei les fit appeler, leur annonça la décision prise "jusqu'à ce qu'il soit nommé un nouveau bibliothécaire," et malgré la courtoisie de leur réponse, il comprit qu'ils n'étaient pas très satisfaits, sans doute par crainte de voir Sirleto devenir leur supérieur tandis que chacun d'eux eût voulu devenir le maître. Après avoir informé Cervini de ces événements, Maffei émettait l'avis qu'il serait peut-être à propos de faire occuper par Sirleto l'appartement du bibliothécaire[2]; mais c'était là une idée plutôt dangereuse et à laquelle il avait renoncé le 8 avril suivant[3].

A la fin de sa lettre du 27 mars, Maffei donnait à son correspondant les noms des candidats à la succession de Steuco : Fabio Vigili, évêque de Spolète[4], Giovanni Beroaldo, évêque de Telese[5], frà Ottavio

[1] C'est la qualification que lui donne Ferdinando Roano dans le titre du premier volume de l'inventaire de la Bibliothèque, achevé en 1550 (*Vat. lat.* 3967).

[2] *Carte Cervin.*, filza 20 (anc. 15), fol. 156.

[3] *Ibid.*, fol. 160.

[4] L'un des collaborateurs du célèbre recueil intitulé *Coryciana*; Giampierio Valeriano voyait en lui un autre Varron. Voy. Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, éd. de Milan, 1824, in-8, t. VII, pp. 1989–1990; Pierre de Nolhac, *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini* (Paris, 1887, in-8), pp. 134, 253.

[5] *Italia sacra*, t. VIII, col. 371 : "Ob claram in omnibus literariis studiis eruditionem magnam sibi peperit apud omnes existimationem."

Pantagato[1], Basilio Zanchi[2], et Romolo Amaseo[3]. Il ignorait que, dès le 22, Sirleto avait envoyé à Cervini une liste plus complète, où figuraient aussi Niccolò Maiorano et Ubaldino Bandinelli[4], en se réjouissant que pour remplacer un seul homme il se trouvât tout de suite tant de personnages distingués : " Peut-être—ajoute-t-il—que Dieu, voyant que par le passé la Bibliothèque a été mal traitée, en aura pitié dans l'avenir, afin qu'un aussi noble trésor ne soit pas déprécié." Au dire de Sirleto, Pantagato était très appuyé par Maffei lui-même ; mais, selon lui, les concurrents les plus sérieux auraient été Amaseo, Maiorano et Pantagato[5].

En attendant que le pape manifestât plus clairement sa volonté, Maffei avait annoncé aux custodes qu'en l'absence de Cervini, ce serait lui qui gèrerait la Bibliothèque, et en effet il en prit immédiatement en main l'administration. Le 26 mars, Cervini avait demandé à Sirleto s'il avait rendu un livre emprunté en son nom au cardinal Agostino Trivulzio[6] ; or il se trouva que, le 30 (vendredi saint), celui-ci vint à mourir. Cervini savait-il que son collègue détenait plus ou moins indûment des livres appartenant à la Vaticane, ou bien entrevoyait-il un moyen d'assurer toute la collection à la Bibliothèque ? Nous l'ig-

[1] Familier du cardinal Giovanni Salviati. Cf. Tiraboschi, *op. cit.*, pp. 1279–1285 ; P. de Nolhac, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 15, 18, etc.

[2] Tiraboschi, *op. cit.*, pp. 2019–2023 ; P. de Nolhac, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 64, 254, 258, 259, 418, 424.

[3] Le célèbre professeur qui avait concouru, avec Piero Vettori, à l'éducation du cardinal Alessandro Farnese. Son biographe a ignoré ce détail (*Vita Romuli Amasæi* a Flaminio Scarsellio descripta, Bononiæ, 1769, in-4).

[4] L'helléniste depuis longtemps lié avec Cervini.

[5] *Vat. lat.* 6177, fol. 117.

[6] *Vat. lat.* 6178, fol. 138. C'était un Vocabulaire, comme l'indique la lettre écrite par Sirleto à Cervini le 27 mars.

norons; mais ce qui est sûr, c'est que, vers le commencement d'avril, Maffei pensait à porter l'affaire devant le pape[1]. Le 11, Sirleto se réjouissait de n'avoir pas restitué le volume en question; car Sabeo lui avait dit que l'un des anciens bibliothécaires, Tommaso Inghirami, le fameux Fedra, avait donné à Trivulzio un certain nombre de livres pris à la Vaticane: le manuscrit emprunté par Cervini pouvait être un de ceux-là[2]. Le 2 juillet, grâce à la diligence de Maffei, les livres, qui avaient été transportés au Palais, furent inventoriés : sans compter de nombreux registres, neuf volumes, tous manuscrits sauf un imprimé sur vélin, provenaient de la Librairie pontificale[3].

L'activité que Maffei eut l'occasion de déployer jusqu'au retour de Cervini (27 mai 1548) n'est pas pour nous surprendre; car il était résolu à suppléer sérieusement son ami dans sa tâche et à faire observer les instructions que celui-ci, pendant un séjour à Rome à la fin de janvier, avait dû renouveler avec insistance. Le 8 avril, Maffei avait déjà inspecté la Bibliothèque en compagnie des seuls custodes et, voyant que beaucoup de livres avaient besoin de réparations, il avait ordonné à Giovanni Onorio de laisser là tout travail de copie et de remplir son office

[1] Lettre de Cervini à Maffei, 4 avril 1548. *Carte Cervin.*, filza 19 (anc. 14), n° 95.

[2] *Vat. lat.* 6177, fol. 120.

[3] Les Archives privées de la Vaticane contiennent une pièce intitulée : *Index Registrorum habitorum ab heredibus bo. me. Cardinalis Trivultii factus die 2 julii* 1548 *in la Guardarobba di N. S^re^;* suivi (fol. 4) d'un *Index aliorum librorum manu scriptorum*, où figure un article ainsi conçu: "Vocabul[ari]um quoddam antiquum ex membrana in fol." ; puis (fol. 6) viennent quelques *libri stampati*, une liste (fol. 6 v°) intituleé : *Libri del Cardinale Trivultio quali erano della Libraria* [*apostolica*], au nombre de 9, dont un imprimé sur vélin ; et enfin (fol. 7) : *Libri. Ex A. Triultio copia.*

d' " instaurator." De plus, prenant prétexte de ce que le pape avait prescrit de faire dresser un inventaire complet de la Bibliothèque par un notaire de la Chambre apostolique, il faisait attacher Sirleto, en même temps que Maiorano, à ce travail nouveau, " afin que Sirleto puisse se rendre compte de tout et prenne peu à peu connaissance de la Bibliothèque, dont j'ai vraiment pitié—ajoute-t-il—quand je vois l'état où elle est réduite." Quant au traitement du bibliothécaire, Maffei n'en touche pas " un quattrino" ; il veille seulement à ce que le " guardarobba " soit toujours prêt à payer les relieurs et les autres dépenses courantes ; il s'arrange de façon à ce que ce personnage, Piergiovanni Aleotto, voie le travail qui se fait chaque jour, afin qu'il puisse attester au pape que l'argent du traitement est utilement employé. Enfin, il s'occupe de faire rentrer les livres prêtés, et ce n'est point là une petite affaire, parce que la plupart d'entre eux ont été donnés sans gage et à l'insu des custodes ; " il y a là une telle confusion que si on les retrouve tous, ce ne sera pas peu de chose[1]."

Cervini dut vivement féliciter Maffei du concours intelligent et dévoué qu'il lui prêtait, et il est certain qu'il encouragea le personnel à tout faire pour le plus grand avantage de la Bibliothèque. L'inventaire prescrit par le pape devint ainsi, non pas un simple acte notarié, mais un catalogue digne de ce nom. Le 11 avril, Sirleto dit, à ce propos, qu'ayant reçu de Maffei l'ordre dont il vient d'être question, il avait volontiers obéi, malgré ses occupations, et commencé par les livres grecs de la Bibliothèque publique, dont il relevait avec soin tous les titres : " Et vraiment je

[1] *Carte Cervin.*, filza 20 (anc. 15), fol. 160.

ne m'étonne plus que, lorsqu'il fallait retrouver quelque livre, il était impossible de le trouver : presque toutes les inscriptions étaient fausses, et parfois un livre avait reçu le titre d'un autre, de sorte qu'il faudra faire un nouvel inventaire. Dans trois bancs que nous avons bien examinés jusqu'ici, outre que nous avons rectifié les inscriptions, nous avons retrouvé par hasard quelques œuvres dont nous ignorions complètement l'existence[1]." Et le 25 avril, il fait l'éloge des instructions de Cervini, qui avait recommandé de feuilleter les manuscrits page par page ; chaque jour, il découvre des ouvrages nouveaux et importants, par exemple le texte grec du Concile d'Éphèse, dont Steuco avait ignoré la présence et qu'il avait fait copier sur un manuscrit de Venise, peut-être moins correct et moins complet[2].

Il est probable qu'après avoir écarté les candidatures qui s'étaient immédiatement produites après la mort de Steuco, Cervini avait pensé à faire donner, dans des conditions avantageuses pour la Bibliothèque, la place vacante à Sirleto. Mais Paul III jugea sans doute qu'il ne pouvait lui donner satisfaction sans provoquer de vifs et nombreux mécontentements, et les choses restèrent en l'état. On s'habitua très vite à considérer Cervini comme le véritable bibliothécaire, et dès le 14 avril, Luigi Lippomano écrivait au cardinal pour le féliciter ou plutôt pour féliciter la Vaticane[3].

Lorsque Cervini, au mois d'octobre 1548, se décida à aller prendre quelque repos dans son évêché

[1] *Vat. lat.* 6177, fol. 119.
[2] *Vat. lat.* 6177, fol. 124.
[3] *Carte Cervin.*, filza 22 (anc. 17), n° 9.

de Gubbio, il ne voulut pas quitter Rome sans avoir assuré le nouveau régime intérieur de la Bibliothèque. Après avoir, ou peu s'en faut, délibérément supprimé le prêt, il fit établir deux registres destinés à inscrire les diverses dépenses et les acquisitions. De ces registres, qui sont uniques en leur genre dans l'histoire de la Vaticane, nous publions ici le premier, dont le contenu demande quelques commentaires[1].

Pour ce qui concerne le personnel, ce document permet de compléter ou de rectifier les listes rédigées jusqu'ici. Aux deux *scriptores* Cervini en ajouta trois autres : pour le grec, Ranuccio Santoro, qui, le 7 décembre 1548, reçoit trois écus "pour avoir aidé à collationner quelques livres grecs[2]," mais dont la situation est régularisée dès le mois de février 1549, où il reçoit un traitement mensuel de deux écus ;—pour le latin, Jacques Diacopoulos de Chypre, qui avait été nommé par Paul III, mais dont le nom n'apparaît dans le registre que le 5 avril 1550[3];—pour l'hébreu, Alessandro Franceschi de Foligno qui, le 25 décembre 1548, est qualifié "de nuovo scrittore di libri hebrei in Libraria apostolica," avec le même traitement, non spécifié, que son prédécesseur, un

[1] Il faut avouer que la comparaison de ces deux registres entre eux et avec les documents conservés dans les Archives privées de la Vaticane montre bien que les custodes n'étaient pas habitués aux soins minutieux requis pour la bonne tenue d'une grande bibliothèque.

[2] On verra plus bas qu'en 1554 l'espagnol Antonio Diaz, pénitencier, fut chargé de revoir, dans des conditions analogues, une copie, exécutée pour la Bibliothèque, de l'ouvrage de saint Jérôme sur les Psaumes.

[3] Cf. Archivo di Stato de Rome. *Mandati*, 1548–1552, fol. 118 v°, sous la date du 11 janvier 1550 : "D. Jacobo Dycopulo (*sic*) Cyprio, ad scribendum in Bibliotheca apostolica per fe. re. Paulum papam III motu proprio sibi deputato, scuta octo de paulis decem pro quolibet scuto, pro sua duorum mensium die decimaprima Novembris proxime preteriti inchoatorum et ut sequitur finiendorum provisione." En marge : "Jacobo Dyacopulo." Cf. la lettre de Cervini à Sirleto, Gubbio, 27 sept. 1550 (*Vat. lat.* 6178, fol. 19).

certain Fabio[1]. Après ces *scriptores* viennent quatre employés qui forment une classe intermédiaire entre leurs collègues titulaires et les copistes du dehors: pour le grec, dès le 29 octobre 1548, Emmanuele de Cérigo [Embénès?], et peut-être, de 1549 à 1555, Giovanfrancesco ou Francesco de Candie, qui avait été au service du cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi[2];—pour le latin, Federico Ranalli ou plutôt Rinaldi, qui est payé à la tâche pendant l'année 1552, mais pourvu d'un office de *scriptor* et d'un traitement de quatre écus au mois d'avril de l'année suivante. Quant à l'aimable Gabriello Faerno, qui reçoit, dès le 10 mai 1550, une allocation mensuelle de cinq écus sur les émoluments du bibliothécaire, il occupe une place à part: c'est un véritable *scriptor*, bien qu'il n'en ait pas le titre[3].

Cervini ne se contente pas d'augmenter le personnel de ces sept collaborateurs nouveaux. Il emploie, à Rome même, en 1549, le célèbre copiste allemand Christophe Auer; à Venise, en 1553, Filippo Hierio, sans doute d'origine grecque; à Venise encore, sous la direction de Francesco Torres[4], et à Florence, sous celle d'Arnoldus Arlenius[5], plusieurs "écrivains" dont nous ne savons pas les noms.

[1] Induit en erreur par la mauvaise transcription de ce document faite peut-être par Giuseppe Assemani, Eugène Müntz a qualifié Franceschi de *scrittor de libri gothi*, ce qui ne signifie rien (*Bibl. du Vat. au XVIe s.*, p. 101).—De Fabio nous ne savons rien.

[2] Lettre de Sirleto à Cervini, 28 juillet 1550 (*Vat. lat.* 6178, fol. 179).

[3] Tiraboschi, *op. cit.*, pp. 2059–2062; cf. Giambattista Beltrami, *La Tipografia Romana diretta da Paolo Manuzio*, dans la *Rivista Europea*, vol. III (Firenze, 1877), p. 1002.

[4] Un théologien espagnol qui avait fait partie de la famille du cardinal Giovanni Salviati.

[5] Cf. Domenico Moreni, *Annali della Tipografia Fiorentina di Lorenzo Torrentino* (Firenze, 1819, in-8), pp. XXVIII, XLVIII–LII; L. Dorez, *Le card. Marcello Cervini et l'impr. à Rome*, p. 20 et n. 5.

La plupart de ces copies, ainsi que des achats de livres imprimés et de manuscrits anciens, étaient payées " delli denari della Libraria," c'est-à-dire sur le traitement du bibliothécaire, que Cervini avait abandonné sinon entièrement, au moins dans sa presque totalité. On le savait, et cette situation extraordinaire suscita, de la part des candidats d'abord découragés, de nouveaux efforts pour mettre fin à un état de choses qu'ils avaient de bonnes raisons de juger irrégulier. Selon eux, l'argent destiné au personnel devait aller au personnel. Le premier assaut fut donné par Basilio Zanchi. Très protégé par Paul III, mais n'espérant plus avoir la place de Steuco, il profita d'une absence de Cervini pour demander au pape, par l'intermédiaire du cardinal Rodolfo Pio de Carpi, une "custodie" surnuméraire, et, en août 1550, il obtenait le motu proprio qui la lui conférait. Cette nomination contraria singulièrement Cervini qui, le 21 du même mois, répondait laconiquement à Sirleto: " Quant au motu proprio de don Basilio, comme j'espère être bientôt de retour à Rome, nous en parlerons alors[1]." Le cas était difficile, parce que dans l'acte il était ordonné au bibliothécaire d'admettre Zanchi et que le dataire avait remis la copie du bref à Sabeo[2]. Grâce à l'intervention du cardinal, qui en écrivit à Maffei, l'affaire fut arrangée: Paul III, mieux informé, et sachant que Cervini ne voulait point de ce moine émancipé (*per essere sfratato*[3]), donna à Zanchi une pension pour lui permettre de

[1] *Vat. lat.* 6178, fol. 22.

[2] Lettre de Sirleto à Cervini, 16 août 1550 (*Vat. lat.* 6177, fol. 178).

[3] Cette émancipation finit par être fatale, vers 1558, au malheureux Zanchi (Tiraboschi, *op. cit.*, pp. 2021-2022).

vivre à Rome[1]. Il n'en va pas moins que, dans le premier mandat émis en faveur de l'intrus, il est qualifié de *Bibliothece apostolice custos supernumerarius et tertius*[2]. Les custodes, sens dessus dessous, vinrent trouver Maffei ; il leur fournit des explications qui parurent les tranquilliser[3]. Cervini fut obligé de s'incliner, mais il ne fut qu'à demi fâché : il avait au moins pu sauver les "denari" de la Bibliothèque.

Cependant, c'est ce succès partiel qui faillit tout perdre, parce que le traitement du bibliothécaire, au point de vue administratif, restait intact. Au commencement de l'année 1551, Faerno avait difficilement touché le traitement à lui octroyé par Cervini, et il s'aperçut bientôt que ces retards semblaient calculés pour lui enlever sa "provisione." En septembre, il se plaignit au cardinal, alors à Gubbio, et celui-ci chargea Maffei de mettre fin à une situation désobligeante pour lui et menaçante pour son protégé[4]. Que signifiaient ces délais ? On ne peut guère les attribuer qu'aux menées d'un candidat

[1] Lettre de Maffei à Cervini, 31 août 1550. *Carte Cervin.*, filza 20 (anc. 15), n° 187.

[2] Archivio di Stato de Rome. *Mandati*, 1548–1552, fol. 222 v°, sous la date du 27 septembre 1550 : "...Faciatis in fine mensis hodie incohandi (*sic*) et ut sequitur finiendi D. Basilio Zanchio, presbitero Bergomensi, Bibliothece apostolice custodi supranumerario et tertio nuper per Sanctitatem suam deputato, ducatos quinque auri de Camera de juliis decem pro ducato, pro sua unius mensis preteriti provisione."

[3] Le traitement de Sabeo fut augmenté en 1551, comme le prouve le mandat suivant, daté du 13 juillet : "...D. Fausto Sabeo et Nicolao Maiorano, custodibus Bibliothece apostolice, ducatos auri de Camera viginti de juliis X pro ducato, XIIII videlicet D. Fausto, sex ordinarios et alios octo ratione augmenti sibi per motum proprium S.mi D. N. Julii pape XIII facti, Nicolao vero predictis alios sex ducatos similes, pro eorum duorum mensium, videlicet martii et aprilis proxime preteritorum, ordinaria provisione." Suit un mandat du même jour pour les mois de mai et de juin (Archivio di Stato de Rome. *Mandati*, 1548–1552, fol. 283 v°).

[4] Lettre de Cervini à Maffei, 7 septembre 1551. *Carte Cervin.*, filza 19 (anc. 14), fol. 117.

désireux d'éloigner Faerno de la Vaticane. C'était peut-être Zanchi, en somme assez peu dangereux. Mais en septembre 1554, une autre tentative, admirablement préparée, manqua détruire l'organisation si avantageuse, si désintéressée, mais si précaire, constituée par le cardinal. Le coup vint d'une main dont Cervini ne l'eût pas attendu. L'anconitain Sebastiano Graziani, évêque de Vico, qui se trouvait fort gêné, lui fit écrire par le cardinal Alessandro Farnese que, si de toute façon le traitement du bibliothécaire devait être donné à un autre, il ne pouvait être mieux placé que dans les mains de Graziani. Sans hésiter, Cervini répondit que ce serait là ruiner entièrement la Bibliothèque. Il s'était d'ailleurs nettement rendu compte que le traitement qu'il avait alloué à Faerno était la cause de tout le mal, et il engageait Sirleto à faire comprendre au *scriptor* hors cadre qu'il devait sacrifier sa provision pour sauver tout le reste : du jour où l'on saurait que le traitement du bibliothécaire était tout entier dépensé pour la Bibliothèque, on n'oserait plus risquer de telles démarches[1]. Cervini semble s'être fait des illusions sur ce dernier point ; toutefois le cardinal Farnese se rendit aux bonnes raisons alléguées par son ancien précepteur et, le cardinal de Médicis ayant pris la défense de Faerno, une fois de plus le statu quo fut maintenu. L'alerte avait été vive, et il fut d'ailleurs impossible de persuader à l'évêque de Vico qu'il avait fait fausse route[2].

[1] Lettre de Cervini à Sirleto, 16 septembre 1554 (*Vat. lat.* 6178, fol. 116) ; très belle lettre du même à Alessandro Farnese, même date (publiée à la suite de l'étude de L. Dorez, *Le card. Marcello Cervini et l'impr. à Rome*, pp. 27–28) ; lettre au cardinal de Médicis, 30 septembre (*ibid.*, pp. 28–29).

[2] Lettres de Cervini à l'évêque de Vico, 16 et 30 septembre 1554, dans les

Ces divers incidents montrent avec quelle vigueur et quelle habileté Cervini protégeait, même contre celui dont il était la "creatura," les intérêts de la Vaticane. Il était fermement résolu à défendre, par voie de suppression, contre des bibliothécaires qui seraient vraisemblablement dignes de leurs aînés[1], non seulement les collections anciennes, mais les livres dont sa générosité dotait la Bibliothèque. Jamais la Vaticane, depuis sa fondation, ne s'était si continuement enrichie[2]. Non content de lui donner sans cesse des manuscrits et des imprimés, le cardinal faisait exécuter des copies à Venise et à Florence. A Rome, Sirleto surveillait les boutiques des libraires établis au Campo di Fiore et dans la via del Pellegrino[3], pour saisir au passage tous les bons livres et tous les manuscrits intéressants qui venaient y échouer, et il s'inquiétait vivement du sort des collections connues dès que leurs possesseurs venaient à mourir[4]. Ces dons de Cervini, ces acquisitions

Carte Cervin., filza 47 (anc. 35), n°s 99 et 100. Dans la dernière, Cervini s'exprime ainsi : "Vedendo per la lettera di V.S.R. de' 21 del presente come ella ancora non si quieta nè remove dal disegno sopra la Libraria con tante ragioni scritteli da me et dittate dalla cosa stessa, non ho voluto mancare di pregarla, come fo, che sia contenta di non vi pensare più, perchè il titolo non si può separare dall' administratione, et io le so dire che niuno de' custodi vorria stare sotto di lei in alcun modo."—Cf. aussi la lettre de Cervini à Maffei, 30 septembre (*Vat. lat.* 6178, fol. 48).

[1] Dans sa lettre du 16 septembre à l'évêque de Vico, Cervini écrivait nettement sa pensée : "...Essendo quel [lo emolumento che si dà al bibliothecario] poco et la Libraria bisognosa di molto maggior quantità di denari che non ha per mantenersi, chi non vole lassarla ruinare come haveva cominciato alle mani de' bibliothecarii, più presto conviene pensare d' accrescerli provisione che diminuirla."

[2] Dès 1550, Roano disait à Cervini, dans la dédicace du premier volume du nouvel inventaire des mss. latins : "...qui plusquam quingentis voluminibus latinis, græcis et hebræis Bibliothecam auxisti." *Vat. lat.* 3967, fol. 4 préliminaire.

[3] *Vat. lat.* 6177, fol. 93, 233, etc.

[4] *Ibid.*, fol. 390, etc.

faites au jour le jour, ces copies exécutées en dehors de Rome n'étaient d'ailleurs pas seules à accroître les trésors de la Vaticane. Un lot plus considérable y entra en 1551 : ce furent ces cinquante manuscrits grecs recueillis par Antoine Éparque et qui, malgré le traité signé à Bologne, le 13 juin 1548, avec Jean de Hangest, évêque de Noyon, en présence de Romolo Cervini, frère du cardinal, échappèrent ainsi à la Bibliothèque royale[1]. En 1553, entrent cinq manuscrits grecs vendus par Georges de Corinthe[2]. Et à tout cela se joignent les reintégrations de volumes indûment sortis, par suite de détournements, de prêts irréguliers et surtout par suite du sac de 1527. Les registres et les livres détenus par le cardinal Trivulzio rentrent, comme on l'a vu plus haut, en 1548. D'autres, probablement dérobés en 1527, sont réintégrés à différentes dates : le 3 décembre 1548, un registre de Grégoire IX[3]; le 5 avril 1549, un registre de Clément IV[4]; le 4 mai 1550, un manuscrit grec de Théophylacte, retrouvé chez les héritiers du cardinal Ardinghelli[5]; le 9 décembre 1553, un registre de Clement VI[6].

Il fallait veiller aussi à l'entretien matériel des livres. On se souvient qu'en 1548 Maffei, en l'absence de Cervini, y avait pensé en même temps qu'à la

[1] Léon Dorez, *Antoine Éparque; recherches sur le commerce des manuscrits grecs en Italie au XVIe siècle* (Rome, 1893, in-8 ; extr. des *Mélanges d'hist. et d'archéol.* publiés par l'École française), pp. 10–13.—La liste de ces mss. a été publié par Pierre Batiffol, ouvr. cité, pp. 117–123.

[2] Sur Georges de Corinthe, voy. Émile Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique*, XVe et XVIe siècles (Paris, 1885, in-8), t. I, pp. 252–253.

[3] Cf. ci-dessous, article 8, et *Vat. lat.* 3963, fol. 1 ; Eugène Müntz, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

[4] *Vat. lat.* 3963, fol. 3.

[5] *Ibid.*, fol. 5 v°.

[6] *Ibid.*, fol. 10.

poursuite des volumes plus ou moins mystérieusement égarés. Les travaux de restauration, confiés à Giovanni Onorio, durent, une fois commencés, être continués avec méthode: le 20 décembre 1548, on achevait de payer un certain nombre de pièces de parchemin destinées à réparer des livres grecs[1]. Quant à la reliure, notre registre atteste qu'elle fut alors l'objet de soins particuliers. Jamais mastro Luigi et Niccolò Franzese, qui étaient les relieurs ordinaires du Palais[2], ne s'étaient vus à pareille fête. Dès que l'on trouvait ou que l'on acquérait des livres endommagés ou dereliés, ils étaient remis à leurs soins. Ils les revêtaient, pour la plupart, de tablettes de bois de cyprès recouvertes de cuirs de différentes couleurs; ils les munissaient de feuillets de garde en papier. Selon les ordres reçus[3], ils les habillaient "à la grecque," "à la latine," ou simplement les cartonnaient. Les papetiers romains, Martino Devi (alias Divi[4]), Filippo, "mastro Cales," n'eurent rien à envier aux relieurs. Plus que jamais, ils fournirent à la Vaticane —outre le parchemin, le papier et l'encre—de la colle, du cinabre, du vernis, des couleurs et de l'or[5]

[1] Le 14 octobre 1554, Cervini écrivait à Sirleto: "È cosa molta necessaria il resarcire li libri tarlati et caduchi, et però dite pure a messer Giovanni che a me sarà sempre gratissima l' opera ch' egli consumarà in questa reparatione." *Vat. lat.* 6178, fol. 37.

[2] Ces deux relieurs travaillaient également pour la Chapelle pontificale (Léon Dorez, *Psautier de Paul III*, Paris, 1909, in-4, p. 48).

[3] Cervini ne dédaignait pas de s'occuper des détails de la reliure. Le 6 septembre 1550, Sirleto lui écrit: "Se V. S. R.ma vuol che questo Testamento nuovo [récemment publié à Paris] se lighi, m' adviserà come l' haremo a far ligare, et se vuol che 'l diamo a mastro Loise." *Vat. lat.* 6178, fol. 374 v°.

[4] Ce Martino était aussi le fournisseur de la Chapelle pontificale (*Psautier de Paul III*, p. 48).

[5] Roano devait être particulièrement habile à se servir de l'or puisqu'en 1552 il peint "quelques lettres d'or," sans doute une devise, sur le cabinet de travail de Paul III (cf. ci-dessous, article 86).

pour la miniature des livres nouvellement copiés. Les serruriers, eux aussi, furent appelés à collaborer à cette œuvre de réfection : on leur acheta des chaînes (j'en compte 45[1]), des serrures "à la grecque," une tenaille et un marteau pour "désenchaîner" les livres en cas de besoin. Au mois de mai 1550, on remboursait à Sabeo le prix de grosse toile de chanvre (*canevaccio*) destinée à nettoyer les volumes. Mais acquisitions, reliure, restaurations constituaient seulement le train courant de la Bibliothèque ressuscitée. Un autre travail s'imposait, plus long, plus délicat, mais plus important : la rédaction d'un nouvel inventaire, plus complet et plus exact que ceux qui avaient été jusqu'alors en usage. On a vu qu'au mois d'avril 1548, Maffei avait trouvé un excellent prétexte d'attacher Sirleto à cette œuvre, qui paraît avoir été menée avec activité. Dès le 23 février 1550, le premier volume, achevé de mettre au net par Roano qui avait peint au premier feuillet les armes de Paul III, était inscrit au registre des acquisitions[2]. Je n'ai rien trouvé qui puisse permettre de dater

[1] Sur l'usage d'enchaîner les livres, voy. l'ouvrage classique de John Willis Clark, *The Care of Books* (2e éd., Cambridge, 1902, in-8); consulter l'Index, au mot *Chaining*. Les livres de la Vaticane étaient encore enchaînés au commencement du XVIIe siècle (cf. Léon Dorez, *Un commencement d'incendie à la Vaticane en* 1605, dans le *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 1898, p. 25).—Il semble d'ailleurs que les manuscrits, ainsi fixés aux pupitres, se conservaient mieux que dans les armoires et dans les caisses. Cervini écrivait à Sirleto, le 14 octobre 1554 : "Et perchè m' è novo che li libri si guastino più nelli armarii che fuora, se così è, bisognarà ordinare di far accrescere stanze et banchi per collocarvi sù quei libri che stanno a pericolo nelli armarii." *Vat. lat.* 6178, fol. 37.—Les livres déposés dans les armoires et les caisses n'avaient naturellement pas de chaînes ; on lit, dans une lettre de Sirleto à Cervini, 28 février 1548 : "Questo libro l' ho ritrovato drento l' armario dove stanno li libri greci senza catena." *Vat. lat.* 6177, fol. 113.

[2] *Vat. lat.* 3963, fol. 5 v°.—Ce premier volume est aujourd'hui le *Vat. lat.* 3967. Voy. Eugène Müntz, ouvr. cité, p. 82 et suiv.—Le *Vat. lat.* 3946 doit être un premier essai qui fut abandonné.

avec certitude l'achèvement des deux autres[1]. Tous trois, consacrés aux livres latins, se composent d'une première partie, rédigée par ordre alphabétique, et d'une seconde, qui donne les titres des ouvrages selon l'ordre des pupitres, des caisses et des armoires. Ainsi que semblent bien le prouver les articles 35, 57 et 117 de notre registre, ce travail entraîna la révision complète des étiquettes indicatrices des grande et petite Bibliothèques secrètes et de la Bibliothèque grecque[2]. Ces articles, surtout le 57e, contiennent, sur les procédés adoptés par Roano, des détails très curieux. Quant à l'index alphabétique des livres grecs, qui fut rédigé par Michel Rosaita et qui est aujourd'hui à la Bibliothèque nationale de Naples, parmi les manuscrits de Farnese, il ne fut transcrit qu'en 1555 par Jean Mauromati[3].

Bien qu'il eût formé lui-même une belle bibliothèque, Cervini n'avait rien d'un amateur. Il n'aimait pas seulement les livres pour eux-mêmes, mais surtout pour les services qu'ils pouvaient rendre, et les discussions du Concile développèrent et affermirent certainement un sentiment qui lui était naturel[4]. Aussi avait-il conçu, vers 1535, le projet d'une entreprise qui était en voie d'exécution dès 1539 et qui se manifesta en 1542 par la publication du premier volume du Commentaire d'Eustathe sur

[1] *Vat. lat.* 3968 et 3969.

[2] Dans son avertissement "ad Lectorem," Roano s'exprime ainsi : "Reliquum est igitur, ut Bibliothecarios, Custodes ac cæteros, ad quos Librariæ officium pertinet, horter, moneam atque obsecrem ne libros de suis locis ac sedibus aut mutent aut demant."

[3] Eugène Müntz, ouvr. cité, p. 81.

[4] A la fin de la lettre adressée par Cervini, le 16 septembre 1554, à l'évêque de Vico, on lit : "Io desidero aiutare V. S. R.ma, ma non con iattura d' altri, nè della fede nostra, che così interpreto quella Libraria." *Carte Cervin.*, filza 47 (anc. 35), n° 100.

Homère. Pour l'impression du second et du troisième volume de cet énorme ouvrage, puis pour d'autres ouvrages d'un caractère exclusivement ecclésiastique, il s'assura alors le concours de Niccolò Maiorano, de Benedetto Giunta et d'Antonio Blado, et ensuite celui de Francesco Priscianese. Notre registre ajoute aux détails que j'ai donnés ailleurs sur les matrices fondues pour le compte de Cervini[1] deux mentions concernant la réparation de quelques-unes d'entre elles, en 1552 et 1553, par un certain Natale di Natale. Mais il révèle aussi une autre entreprise qui paraît avoir été peu remarquée jusqu'ici. A la fin de l'année 1552, Cervini avait recours à un Syrien, nommé Moïse, pour préparer une fonte de caractères syriaques "per far la stampa da stampare libri in lingua soriana per uso della Libraria." De cette intéressante tentative, sur laquelle je n'ai rencontré aucun autre renseignement, sortit peut-être l'idée de l'Imprimerie de la Propagande[2]. Elle s'explique d'ailleurs facilement : Cervini songeait très sérieusement à publier une édition critique des textes bibliques, et c'est pourquoi, vers le mois d'avril 1546, il avait bien accueilli la proposition, à lui faite par Sirleto, de réviser le texte hébreu, grec et latin de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament[3] : le 14 janvier 1554, il faisait octroyer par Paul III à son dévoué collaborateur cinquante écus d'or, prélevés d'ailleurs sur les deniers de la Bibliothèque, c'est-à-dire sur le

[1] Dans mon travail déjà cité : *Le card. Marcello Cervini et l'imprimerie à Rome.*

[2] Vers 1550, Mariano Vittorio de Rieti dédiait à Cervini sa Grammaire éthiopienne (Ang. Rocca, *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana*, Romæ, 1591, in-4, p. 93).

[3] *Vat. lat.* 6177, fol. 33 ; cf. fol. 55, 61, etc.

traitement du bibliothécaire. Et sur les mêmes deniers, le cardinal, élevé par son père Ricciardo dans l'amour des sciences, passionné non seulement pour les mathématiques et l'astronomie, mais aussi pour l'ornithologie et l'ichthyologie, accordait à Ippolito Salviani de Città di Castello une subvention de sept écus, afin de l'aider à imprimer cette *Storia de' Pesci*, pour laquelle il recueillit lui-même, de toutes parts, pendant de longues années, des documents authentiques[1].

Tel est le multiple intérêt du registre des dépenses de la Vaticane, qui montre d'une manière précise tous les efforts de Cervini pour conserver, enrichir et utiliser la Bibliothèque apostolique. Il en élargissait le rôle avec une générosité presque audacieuse, sans perdre de vue les moindres détails administratifs. Aussi, quelle indignation le saisissait lorsqu'il survenait quelqu'un de ces accidents inévitables dans un dépôt plus ou moins fréquenté ! En octobre 1554, un visiteur parvenait à dérober un livre de médecine; il fut heureusement surpris par Federico Rinaldi, mais Cervini, très ému, écrivait à Sirleto : "Je vous exhorte à être vigilant à l'avenir . . . Et comme le cas me paraît vilain et inouï, je désirerais vivement connaître le nom du malfaiteur, fût-il au service de quelque grand personnage. Cette volerie nous avertit qu'il serait peut-être bon d'enlever des chambres publiques tous les meilleurs manuscrits et de les conserver dans celles qui sont fermées, en mettant à leur place des imprimés, afin que, s'ils venaient à

[1] Voy. mes travaux déjà cités : *Le card. Cervini et l'impr. à Rome*, p. 26 n. 2 ; *Antoine Éparque*, p. 36 n. 1 ; les *Carte Cerviniane* de Florence et l'*Add. Ms.* 10,274 du British Museum, passim.

se perdre, le dommage fût moins grand[1]." Cette lettre caractéristique servira de conclusion à notre brève étude : mieux que tous les commentaires, elle prouve jusqu'à quel point Cervini avait porté "le soin des livres[2]."

LÉON DOREZ.

Libro dove se registrano tutti i mandati che si faranno dal R.mo Santa Croce de denari che si pagaranno per conto della Libraria Apostolica, cominciando a dì 28 *di Ottobre* 1548[3].

1. [Fol. 1.]—Mandat adressé "al R.do messer Piergiovanni Aleotto," 29 octobre 1548: 10 écus à "Emmanuel Greco," pour avoir écrit *Onosandro de re militari.*

2.—Mandat adressé "al R.do Monsignor di Como [Bernardino Della Croce, trésorier secret]," pour faire payer par "messer Piergiovanni Aleotto, guardarobba di sua Santità," 27 novembre 1548: 6 écus et 7 jules à Emanuel Greco "per un resto di la scrittura d'un libro greco *de re militari* chiamato *Onosandro*, ed altri authori di la medema facultà."

3. [Fol. 1 v°.]—Même adresse, 3 décembre 1548: à payer "delli denari della libraria" à Beniamin hebreo: 6 écus "per prezzo dila sopradetta (*sic*) Bibia."

4.—Même adresse, 7 décembre 1548 : 3 écus à messer Ranuccio Santoro "per sua mercede per havere aiutato a scontrare certi libri greci di la libraria apostolica."

5. [Fol. 2.]—Même adresse, 20 décembre 1548: 4 écus 38 baïoques à "mastro Martino cartularo," "per resto di tante carte pecorine havute da lui per resarcire alcuni libri greci."

6.—21 décembre 1548: "Piaccia a V. S. di fare un mandato a messer Giovanni de Rubeis, che pag[h]i a messer Alessandro Franceschi da Foligno, nuovo scrittore di libri hebrei in libraria apostolica, quella medesma provisione che si dava a Fabio suo predecessore, cominciando al primo di Dicembre del 48; chè di tanto sua Beatitudine si contenta, come ne appare per un motu proprio segnato di mano di sua Santità."

[1] *Vat. lat.* 6178, fol. 37 (Gubbio, 14 octobre 1554).

[2] Ce travail est détaché d'un ouvrage que je prépare depuis de longues années sur l'histoire de la Vaticane au XVI[e] siècle. Il a été ici notablement remanié et allégé, surtout pour ce qui concerne l'annotation.

[3] Suit un index incomplet des noms contenus dans le registre.

7. [Fol. 2 v°.]—Même adresse, 6 janvier 1549: "a mastro Antonio Zeno, scudi quindici, a bon conto per tanti libri hauti da lui, parte in penna, et parte in stampa, quali si sonno presi per la libraria apostolica."

8.—"Noi custodi de la libraria Palatina havemo receputo un *Registro di Papa Gregorio nono* del anno 14 et 15 del suo Pontificato, in pergameno, legato in tavole et coperto di corio rosso, quale si perse al tempo del sacco in Roma, et hora è recuperato per diligentia del R.mo Cardinale Santa Croce, et è costato un scudo d'oro. In fede di questo, nui [fol. 3] testificamo. In Roma alli 5 de Dicembre 1548.

"Ita est. Faustus Sabeus manu propria.

"Ita est. Nicolaus Maioranus manu propria."

9. [Fol. 3.]—Même adresse, 6 janvier 1549: "Piaccia a V. S. ordinare a messer Piergiovanni Aleotto che per la recuperatione del soprascritto libro, paghi un scudo d'oro ad Antonio Zeno, dal quale s' è recuperato tal libro, il 6 di Gennaro del 49."

10.—"Noi custodi de la libraria per la presente facemo fede haver riceuto dal R.mo Santa Croce un libro greco scritto a mano, in papiro, detto *Theodoro de sacramento Misse*, et *Nicolò Cabasila de sacramentis*, costa[to] Δ X, et l'havemo posto in la libraria, adì X di Gennaro 1549.

"Ita est. Faustus etc."

11. [Fol. 3 v°.]—Même adresse, 11 janvier 1549: 10 écus à messer Pietro Greco "per il prezzo del sopradetto libro, quale si è preso per la libraria."

12.—20 janvier 1549: reçu, par Fausto Sabeo, de sept manuscrits grecs et latins, en parchemin et en papier, couverts de "tavole" et de "corio carmesino et rosso," achetés à "mastro Nicolò Franzese, ligatore," pour la somme de 5 écus ½.

13. [Fol. 4.]—21 janvier 1549: mandat pour le paiement des 5 écus ½ susdits.

14.—3 février 1549: 4 écus d'or à messer Ranuccio Santoro "per la sua provisione del mese di Dicembre et Gennaro prossimi passati, a ragione di doi scudi simili il mese, che li si danno per agiutare a incontrare libri greci di la libraria apostolica."

15. [Fol. 4 v°.]—6 février 1549: à Beniamin hebreo, 8 écus "per valuta d' un libro hebreo scritto in penna in carta pecora, chiamato *Rabbi Salamone sopra tutta la Scrittura*; qual libro si compra per la ditta libraria."

16.—13 février 1549: "R.do Monsignor di Como, Mastro Antonio Zeno, libraro in Campo di Fiore, deve havere per il

prezzo di sopra scritti libri [cf. 7], quali si sono presi per la libraria apostolica, in tutto scudi sedeci et julii tre, de quali n' ha havuti a bon conto scudi 15; resta d' havere Δ. 1 et 3 julii. Piaccia a V. S. di farli pagare da messer Piergiovanni Aleotto delli denari di essa libraria per il resto li detti tredeci julii."

17. [Fol. 5.]—17 février 1549: 13 jules "a mastro Aloigi, ligatore, per la legatura del *Pontano* et *Arnobio*, quali libri sono di la libraria apostolica."

18.—20 février 1549: 10 jules à messer Fausto Sabeo, "quali lui ha spesi in dieci catene per uso di la libraria apostolica."

19. [Fol. 5 v°.]—2 mars 1549:

1 écu $\frac{1}{2}$ à messer Fausto Sabeo "per costo di XIII catene";
3 jules à messer Fausto Sabeo "per un *Diomede con altri grammatici*";
4 jules à messer Fausto Sabeo "per un *Scribonio con altri medici*";
3 jules à messer Fausto Sabeo "per un *Charisio*";
"quali sommano in tutto Δ 2$\frac{1}{2}$ de moneta, et sonno per uso della libreria apostolica."

20.—9 mars 1549: 1 écu 12 jules "a mastro Aluigi, ligatore, per ligatura de *Gennadio patriarcha di Constantinopoli in confirmatione del Concilio fiorentino*, quale fu donato a Nostro Signore."

21. [Fol. 6.]—14 janvier—15 mars 1549: "Robbe havute [parchemin, papier et encre] da mastro Martino Devi, cartolaro, per uso della libraria, delle quale si n' è fatto il mandato come sotto di esse appare registrato, et dette robbe si son pigliate per mani de messer Giovanni Honorio, scrittore greco."

22.—15 mars 1549: mandat de paiement de la note précédente, montant à 2 écus et 84 baïoques.

23.—21 mars 1549:

"Denari spesi, et promesse fatte da messer Fausto Sabeo, custode di la libraria:

Prima pagato per para 10 de serrature alla greca...	— ju. 6
Et più per un *libro delli medici antiqui*	Δ 1 ju. 2
Per ligatura di detto libro, et per uno *Psalterio latino* in pergameno	Δ 1 ju. 4
Et più per un *libro di Chiru*[*r*]*gia* tradotto di greco in latino et ligato	Δ 2 —
Per uno *Avicenna* ligato in cartone	Δ 2 —
Per uno *Aetio* ligato in cartone	— ju. 8
Per catene vinti, a baiocchi 12 l' una	Δ 2 ju. 4
Et più per residuo	Δ — ju. — b. 6.

Ita est. Faustus Sabeus manu propria."

24. [Fol. 7.]—21 mars 1549: mandat de paiement de la note précédente, 10 écus 4 jules 6 baïoques.

25. [Fol. 7 v°.]—16 avril 1549. A Fausto Sabeo:

14 jules et 4 baïoques pour 12 chaînes;
35 jules "per cinque libri greci ligati";
22 jules "per sei libri latini ligati";
12 écus "per tanti libri che si sonno presi da messer Guglielmo Sirleto";
5 jules "per un altro libro."
En tout, 19 écus 6 jules et 4 baïoques.

26. [Fol. 8.]—31 mai 1549: attestation de Fausto Sabeo que Niccolò Franzese a relié "in corio pavonazzo" dix volumes hébreux de format in-folio, à savoir deux manuscrits et huit imprimés, et une Bible manuscrite en deux gros volumes, pour 58 jules.

27.—31 mai 1549: mandat de paiement de la note précédente.

28. [Fol. 8 v°.]—13 juin 1549: 5 écus "a messer Christofano Auuero, per la sua mercede de la scrittura di *Theodoreto in Cantica Canticorum in greco.*"

29. [Fol. 9.]—30 juillet 1549: 5 écus "a messer Christofano Aueroo (*sic*), per la scrittura d' un libro greco chiamata *Anastasio.*"

30. [Fol. 9 v°.]—3 septembre 1549:

"Noi custodi di la libraria palatina havemo recevuto *la sesta*, *et la settima Synodo greci*, in un volume, dal R.mo Santa Croce; montano scudi venti di moneta. In fede havemo sottoscritta la presente.—Di Roma, alli 3 di settembre 1549.—Ita est. Faustus custos."

31. [Fol. 10.]—3 septembre 1549: mandat de paiement du travail précédent, en faveur d' "Emanuel de Cerigo, greco."

32. [Fol. 10 v°.]—18 novembre 1549: mandat adressé directement à Piergiovanni Aleotto: 50 jules à "Giovanni Francesco di Candia per la scrittura d' un libro greco chiamato *Nemesio de natura hominis.*"

33.—20 novembre 1549: Fausto Sabeo certifie que "Nicolò libraro" a relié "4 libri ligati alla greca, et per una Bibia hebrea in forma imperiale, coperta di cordovano verde, et per haver posto serrature 48 alla greca alli libri greci, et per [fol. 11] haver posto carta davanti e dietro a tutti li libri fin hora da lui ligati"; le tout montant à la somme de 7 écus.

34. [Fol. 11.]—22 novembre 1549: mandat de paiement, adressé à Aleotto, de la note précédente.

35. [Fol. 11 v°.]—25 novembre 1549:

"Noi custodi di la libraria havemo recevuto dal R.mo Cardinale

Santa Croce *un libro di Concilio composto dal Cardinale Jacobaccio*, quale fu comprato per julii 15...Ita est. Faustus Sabeus."

36.—25 novembre 1549: mandat de paiement de la note précédente, adressé à Aleotto, en faveur de "messer Jordano libraro."

37. [Fol. 12.]—17 décembre 1549: Fausto Sabeo certifie que mastro Aloisio a relié deux livres grecs, "cioè uno *de Conciliis*, et uno altro *Theodoreto*," et qu'il a donné "tanta colla a messer Roano per incollare li titoli delli libri"; le tout montant à 18 jules.

38.—29 décembre 1549: mandat de paiement de la note précédente, adressé à Aleotto, en faveur de "mastro Aloisio ligatore."

39. [Fol. 12 v°.]—9 janvier 1550: mandat de paiement adressé à Aleotto, en faveur d' "Emanuelle Greco, per la scrittura di *Theodoreto de curandis affectibus Grecorum*.—Di San Giorgio, il dì 9 di Gennaro 1550."

40.—19 mars 1550: "Noi custodi di la libraria palatina havemo ricevuto dal R.mo Cardinale Santa Croce uno *Homero* stampato in pergameno, miniato et ligato in corio rosso alla greca, et uno *Pausania* stampato et ligato in pergameno, comprati [fol. 13] per scudi otto..."

41. [Fol. 13.]—20 mars 1550: mandat de paiement de la note précédente, en faveur de mastro Antonio Zeno.

42. [Fol. 13 v°.]—7 avril 1550: mandat adressé à Aleotto, 5 écus à payer à "Emanuelle Greco, per la scrittura di *Gregorio Nazia*[*n*]*zeno in versi* greco[1]."

43.—10 avril 1550: "Noi custodi della libraria palatina havemo comprato per ordine del R.mo Santa Croce li *Sermoni di Pietro Crisologo* da Antonio di Genova (*sic*) per julii quattro, ligati di corame celestre in tavole dorato."

44. [Fol. 14.]—12 avril 1550: mandat de paiement de la dépense précédente, en faveur de mastro Antonio Zeno.

45. [Fol. 14–17.]—"Conto delle carte [encre, parchemin et papier] date per la libraria di sua Santità per me Martino Divi cartularo": 17 mars 1549: A messer Giovanni Honorio, 237 baïoques;—[A] messer Ruano, 138 baïoques;—[A] messer Alessandro che scrive alli libri hebrei, 35 baïoques;—5 avril 1550: "Hebbe Joanni Jacomo di Acopulo (*sic*) di Cypri, scrittore della

[1] Une seconde copie de cet ouvrage fut exécutée par Emmanuel pour Cervini. Sirleto écrit en effet à celui-ci, le 7 juin 1550: "Similmente ad Emanuele de li *versi del Nazanzeno*, quali ha scritto adesso di novo per V. S. R.ma, perchè quella prima copia fu posta in Libraria, de la quale è stato pagato; resta donque essere sodisfatto di questa ultima. Et perfin tanto che Lei starà fuore, saria credo bene intermettere il fare scrivere greco." *Vat. lat.* 6177, fol. 159 v°; cf. fol. 374 v°.

bibliotheca apostolica, da mastro Martino cartularo, per scrivere l' opera di *Jo. Beleth de Ecclesiasticis officiis*, carta regale rigate fol. 30, baiocchi 30.—Sommano in tutto scudi cinque julii uno baiochi quattro et mezo."

46. [Fol. 17 v°.]—21 avril 1550: mandat de la somme précédente en faveur de Martino.

47.—10 mai 1550: 30 écus d'or, c'est-à-dire 5 écus par mois, à messer Gabriello Faerno pour son traitement de novembre et décembre 1549, et de janvier, février, mars et avril 1550.

48. [Fol. 18.]—Ordre de paiement émanant du cardinal-bibliothécaire: "R.do messer Piergiovanni, Piacciavi di pagare delli denari della libraria a mastro Hippolito Salviani da Città di Castello scudi sette di moneta, quali li si danno per fare stampare *un libro di pesci* che s' ha [da] porre in libraria apostolica. Di casa, il dì XI di maggio 1550."

49.—"Speso per la libraria per messer Fausto Sabeo in diverse volte": divers objets, entre autres: "in una scala per aprire le finestre: juli tre;—in una tanaglia et un martello per scatenar libri: juli 3;—in canevaccio per nettar li libri: juli 3," en tout 16 jules $\frac{1}{2}$.

50. [Fol. 18 v°.]—18 mai 1550: mandat de paiement de la note précédente, daté "dal monasterio del Populo."

51.—10 avril 1550: Fausto Sabeo certifie que mastro Nicolò Franzese a relié deux *Chrysostomes*, "uno coperto in tavole in corio cremisino grande, l'altro coperto in corio cremisino et non ligato," le premier pour 12, le second pour 7 jules.

52.—18 mai 1550: mandat de paiement de la dépense précédente, daté "dal monasterio del Populo."

53. [Fol. 19.]—23 août 1550: mandat de paiement de 8 écus, en faveur de Francesco da Candia, "per haver scritto *Theodorito sopra la vita de santi*, greca"; daté "di Palazzo" et signé: "Vostro il Cardinale Maffeo[1]."

54.—21 novembre 1550: 15 écus d'or à Gabrielle Faerno pour son traitement des mois de septembre, octobre et novembre.

55. [Fol. 19 v°.]—2 décembre 1550:

"Libri vecchi della libraria ligati di nuovo per mastro Nicolò Franzese, et deve havere per essa ligatura come di sotto fatto il patto con me Fausto custode de detta libraria:

[1] Lettre de Sirleto à Cervini, 28 juillet 1550: "Credo saria bene, che V. S. R.ma scrivisse al R.mo Cardinale Maffeo, che essendo finita de scrivere quella historia de Theodorito, se pagasse la scrittura, se s' ha a pigliare per la Libraria; dico perchè questo giovane che la scrive sta su le spese, il quale è un Greco chi scrivea alla bona memoria del Cardinale Ridolphi, per nome chiamato Francesco." *Vat. lat.* 6177, fol. 179; cf. fol. 374.

Demostene in foglio mezano in carta papiro, ligato in cremesino, monta Δ 1.

Demostene in foglio comune in pergameno, ligato in cremesino, monta Δ 1.

Aristotele de animalibus in foglio mezano in papyro ligato in cremisino, Δ 1.

Theodosio in foglio mezano in papyro, ligato a la latina non in tutto di nuovo, et per serrature ad un' altro *Theodosio*, jul. 7.

Nemesio in quarto foglio in papyro ligato in cremesino, jul. 5."

56.—4 décembre 1550.—Mandat de paiement de 4 écus 2 jules en faveur de Niccolò Franzese; daté "di Palazo" et signé: "M. Cardinalis Sanctæ +."

57. [Fol. 20.]—[Janvier 1551]:

"Quello ch' io Fernando Ruano tengo speso in la libraria, cioè di quello che è pagato:

De carta mezzana per fare *l' indice delle due librarie*, cioè della grande et picciola segrete, de che s' è fatto doi libri, sette quinterni di carta a un carlino il quinterno, sonno jul. 6 b. 2.

Et più di carta commune per fare le ballotine per reducere l' indice per alfabeto, sette quinterni a quatro baiochi il quinterno, sonno jul. 2 b. 8.

Et più per cera per attacare queste ballotine, doi libre, cioè cera verde et rossa, a doi julii et mezzo la libra, sonno juli 5.

Et più di carta straccia per attacare questi bollettini, otto quinterni, julii uno.

Et più di carta pecorina per fare li tituli alle due librarie, cioè grande et picciola secrete, vinti quattro carte a un carlino l' uno, sono juli diciotto.

[Fol. 20 v°.] Et più per sedeci carte pecorine per fare le tavole della libraria publica, a un carlino la carta, jul. 4 b. 2.

Et più di colla cerbona (?) per attacare queste carte in le tavole a una libraria, jul. 1.

Et più di carta pecorina per scrivare (*sic*) il libro delle *Epistole di Lione nono*, sette quinterni a 23 b. il quinterno, sonno jul. 16 b. 1.

Et più d' oro per le miniature di questi quattro libri, tre conquete, a tre carlini la conqueta, sonno jul. 6 b. 7.

Et più per colore per le miniature delle tavole et libri, julii tre.

Et più per carta mezzana per scrivare la *Vita di santo Nilo*, un quinterno et mezzo, sonno a carlino et mezzo jul. 1 b. 3.

[Fol. 21.] Item doi quinterni di carta commune per fare li tituli delle casse della libraria piccola secreta, a quattro baiochi, jul. 0 b. 8.

Et più di carta commune per fare li tituli [de] li armarii et casse della libraria grande secreta, tre quinterni, jul. 1 b. 2.

Et più un quinterno di carta mezzana per fare le tavole delle casse della libraria piccola, sonno a uno carlino jul. o b. 7.

Et più de uno quinterno di carta commune che è dato a messer Fausto, jul. o b. 4.

Et più de vernice quattro oncie a un carlino l'oncia, sonno jul. 3.

Et questo è la conscientia mia justa.

Somma ... Δ 7 jul. 4 b. 9.

Ferdinandus Ruano, scriptor Bibliothecæ.

Ita est. Faustus Sab. manu propria."

58. [Fol. 21 v°.]—14 janvier 1551 : mandat de paiement de la note précédente.

59.—29 janvier 1551 : 10 écus d'or à Gabrielle Faerno, pour son traitement de décembre 1550 et de janvier 1551.

60. [Fol. 22.]—2 février 1551.—"*Indice della libraria* in foglio mezzano, ligato in corame rosso, jul. 18.

Et più le *Epistole di Leone Papa* scritto in carta pecora, ligato in cremesino, jul. 6.

Et più un *Theophilatto* greco scritto in carta buona, ligato alla greca, jul. 11.

Et più per colla per uso della libraria, jul. 2.

Adì II di febraro 1551.

Io Fausto Sabeo, custode della libraria, ho recevuto da mastro Luigi, ligatore, li soprascritti libri quali esso ha ligati, et del prezzo come di sopra son convenuto con lui, et in fede..., il dì et anno ut supra..."

61. [Fol. 22 v°.]—11 (ou 2) février 1551 : mandat de paiement de la dépense précédente.

62.—" R.do messer Piergiovanni Aleotti, Piacciavi di far pagare delli denari della libraria a messer Matthia Prioli scudi ducento d'oro, quali sonno per il prezzo di pezzi cinquant' uno di libri greci scritti a mano che si sonno comprati in Venetia per uso della [fol. 23] libraria apostolica da messer Antonio Eparco come havemo avviso dal R.do messer Ludovico Beccadello, nuntio apostolico, essere in man sue, et lui li mandarà a Roma. Di Palazzo, il dì 18 di febraro 1551.—Δ 200."

63.—23 mars 1551 : Fausto Sabeo atteste que "mastro Luigi ligatore" a relié "li *Stromati di Clemente* greco, stampato in Firenze[1], in carta, mezzano, coperto verde," pour la somme de 10 jules.

64. [Fol. 23 v°.]—25 mars 1551 : mandat de paiement de la dépense précédente.

[1] Si le titre n'est pas erroné, il s'agirait d'une sorte de tirage à part de la troisième partie du texte grec de Clément d'Alexandrie, dédié par Piero Vettori à Cervini en septembre 1550. Cf. Moreni, *Annali...di L. Torrentino*, p. 91.

65.—25 mars 1551 : 6 écus à "Emanuelle greco, per la scrittura di *Origene* in greco *sopra Hieremia*."

66. [Fol. 24.]—"Libri havuti da messer Giordano, libraro al Pellegrino, per la libraria apostolica :

Li *Evangelii* in lingua mecedonica (*sic*), greco, in penna.

Ecclesiastico et *Job*, et *Cantica di Salamone*, greco, in penna.

L' *Historia di Nicephoro greco*, Δ 4.

Opera Clementis in foglio, in stampa, Δ 2 b. 20."

67.—16 avril 1551 : mandat de paiement de la note précédente.

68. [Fol. 24 v°.]—"R.do messer Piergiovanni, Piacciavi di far pagare delli denari della libraria a Antonio Manelli, nostro guardarobba, scudi nove julii tre et baiochi doi, quali deve havere per l' infrascritto conto, cioè scudi sei jul. 4 et baiochi doi ha pagati al vetturale ch' ha condotti 51 pezzi di libri greci da Pesaro a Roma [cf. n° 62]. Et più ha pagati, per far portare dalla loggia del Papa alla libraria, il sasso dove è inscritto il *Calendario greco*[1], scudi 2 jul. 8 ; che sommano in tutto Δ 9 jul. 3 b. 2 ; et sonno per uso di essa libraria. Di Palazzo, il dì 16 d' Aprile 1551.—Δ 9—3—2."

69. [Fol. 25.]—4 mai 1551 : 16 jules et 6 baïoques à "mastro Lorenzo, falegname, quali deve havere per tante tavole di cipresso che si sonno prese da lui per coprirne cinque libri in 4° foglio, a ba. 14 il paro, et cinque altri libri in mezzo foglio, a ba. 16 ; et in tutto fanno detta somma di jul. 16 et ba. 6."

70. [Fol. 25 v°.]—12 mai 1551 : 20 écus d'or à Faerno, pour son traitement des quatre mois de février, mars, avril et mai.

71. [Fol. 26.]—21 décembre 1551 : 15 écus d'or à Faerno, pour son traitement des mois d'octobre, novembre et décembre.

72.—"Al Faerno scudi venti d' oro per la sua provisione di quattro mesi, cioè da giugno per tutto settembre, per un mandato del R.mo Cardinale Maffeo sotto il dì 15 de settembre 1551."

73. [Fol. 26 v°.]—21 décembre 1551 : mandat de paiement adressé à "R.do Monsignor di Forlì [Aleotto]," 1 écu 58 baïoques à "mastro Martino cartularo," pour fourniture de papier et d'encre.

74. [Fol. 27.]—"Libri per la libraria di sua Santità consignati al Ill.mo et R.mo Santa Croce adì 9 di dicembre 1551.

Concilia Generalia fo., tomi tre novi	...	Δ 7.50
Clementis Alexandrini opera omnia grece fo.		Δ 2[2]
Clementis Alexandrini opera omnia latine fo.		Δ 1.10[3]
		Δ 10.60

[1] Le célèbre canon pascal.

[2] L'édition de Vettori rappelée un peu plus haut.

[3] La traduction de Gentien Hervet (Moreni, *op. cit.*, pp. 136–139).

Io Bartholomeo Molini, libraro, consignai li sopra scritti libri al sopra detto Santa Croce." 23 janvier 1552.

75.—Sabeo certifie qu'il a reçu les susdits volumes du cardinal Cervini (même date).

76. [Fol. 27 v°.]—Même date: mandat de paiement de la note précédente.

77.—"Adì 2 di Febraro 1552.

Faccio fede Fausto Sabeo qualmente mastro Nicolò Franzese, ligatore, have ligati li sotto scritti libri della libraria apostolica, et del prezzo come è notato convenutosi meco:

[Fol. 28.] *Dyonisio Areopagita* signato. X°. 181, ligato in tavole, in foglio quarto reale, coperto di corame verde, monta Δ 1.

Demostene signato. X°. 350, ligato in tavole coperte di corame turchino, in 4° foglio reale, Δ 1.

Li *Concilii* stampati in tre volumi ligati in tavole, coperti di corame rosso, in foglio, Δ 2 jul. 2.

Ita est. Faustus Sabeus subscripsi (?).

Item detto mastro Nicolò ha ligato un altro libro in foglio mezzano, coperto di cremesino rosso, in tavole, intitulato *Isidori Epistole, pars prior*, in greco, per prezzo di jul. xx. Δ 2.—Sonno Δ 6 jul. 2."

78. [Fol. 28 v°.]—5 février 1552: mandat de paiement de la note précédente.

79. [Fol. 29.]—"Conto de la carta, oro, et altro colore che ho speso [io Ferdinando Ruano] per la libraria in tutto l' anno 1551.

Di carta mezzana, per scrivare le *Epistole de Ildiberto*, tre quinterni, a un carlino il quinterno.—Per far regulare detta carta.—De oro per la miniatura di questo libro, una conchetta.—Azuro, cenabrio, vernice, inchiostro.—Item de carta mezzana, per scrivere il *Psalmista*, sei quinterni, a doi carlini il quinterno con la regolatura.—[Fol. 29 v°.] Item di carta mezzana, per scrivere l' *Apocalypse*, doi quinterni a doi carlini con la regolatura."—En tout, 26 jules.

80.—11 février 1552: mandat de paiement de la note précédente, en faveur de Ferdinando "Rovano."

81. [Fol. 30.]—17 février 1552: 10 écus d'or à Faerno pour son traitement des mois de janvier et de février.

[Fol. 30 v° et 31: non employés.]

82. [Fol. 31 v°.]—12 mars 1552: Fausto Sabeo certifie que 24 jules sont dûs à mastro Luigi pour la reliure des quatre volumes suivants, à 6 jules l'un:

"Doi *Clementi*, un greco, l' altro latino, ligati in tavole, coperti di bianco, l' uno et l' altro stampati.

L' *Epistole de Ildiberto Vescovo*, scritte di mano di Ferdinando Ruano, ligati in tavole, coperti di rosso.

L' *Epistole di deversi* (*sic*) *Pontifici et Imperatori*, scritte di mano di Federigo Ranalli, ligati in tavole, coperti di bianco.

Et tutti quatro in foglio mezzano."

83. [Fol. 32.]—13 mars 1552: mandat de paiement de la note précédente.

84.—15 mars 1552: mandat en faveur de Federigo Ranalli, 10 écus d'or "per scrittura d' un libro d' *Epistole di varii Pontifici et Imperatori.*"

85. [Fol. 32 v°.]—21 mars 1552: 11 écus "di moneta" à "Emanuelle greco, per la scrittura di la *Fisica di Gioanni Stobeo* in greco."

86.—"A Ferdinando Roano, scudi uno d' oro per ordine di Nostro Signore, per haver fatte alcune littere d' oro sopra lo studio di sua Santità, sotto il dì 17 di marzo 1552."

87. [Fol. 33.]—30 mars 1552: 10 écus d'or à messer Francesco Tramezino, "per tanti ne ha pagati messer Michele[1] suo fratello in Venetia per la scrittura di *Manuelle Caleca* et *Apollinare sopra il Psalterio.*"

88. [Fol. 33 v°.]—3 avril 1552: 6 écus d'or "a messer Emilio, libraro, per tanti ne hanno pagati suoi correspondenti in Firenze a bon conto per la scrittura di *Giovanni Chrisostomo de Verginitate* et *Cirillo sopra Isaia*; et doi julii et mezzo hanno d' havere per la portatura di detti libri, quali si sonno fatti scrivare per la libraria apostolica."

89. [Fol. 34.]—5 avril 1552: 10 écus d'or à Faerno pour son traitement des mois de mars et d'avril.

90. [Fol. 34 v°.]—"Il dì 29 d' aprile 1552.

"Faccio fede Fausto Sabeo qualmente mastro Luigi, ligatore, deve havere per ligatura d' uno *Eustachio* greco stampato in pergameno[2], in foglio mezzano, in quattro tomi, a un scudo il tomo, sono scudi quattro; et per le tavole de detti libri di cipresso, a un julio l' una, sonno julii otto; coperti di cordovano giallo; sonno in tutto julii 48.—Posto in libraria il dì come sopra.—Faustus Sabeus qui supra."

91. [Fol. 35.]—29 mars 1552: mandat de paiement de la somme précédente.

[1] Le célèbre libraire.

[2] Sur les exemplaires en vélin de l'*Eustathe* imprimé à Rome par les soins de Cervini de 1542 à 1549, voy. Léon Dorez, *Le card. Cervini et l'impr. à Rome*, p. 17 et n. 1; *Antonio Blado* (*Revue des Bibliothèques*, 1893, p. 370).

92. [Fol. 35 v°.]—30 mai 1552: 5 écus d'or à Faerno pour son traitement du mois de mai.

93. [Fol. 36.]—10 mai 1552: 15 écus d'or "a messer Giovanni Battista Gabio[1], per il prezzo d' un *libro di mathematica et altre opere di Giovanni Bianchini* scritto a mano."

94.—"Noi costodi della libreria apostolica habiamo recevuto il soprascritto libro dal R.mo Santa Croce et posto in libraria questo dì et millesimo come di sopra.—Ita est. Faustus.—Ita est. Nicolaus Maioranus."

95. [Fol. 36 v°.]—Fausto Sabeo certifie qu'il est dû 18 jules à mastro Nicolò Franzese "per la ligatura d' un libro greco scritto di mano di messer Giovanni, intitulato *Isidori Epistolarum pars prior*..., ligato in foglio, coperto di corame cremesino indorato, con tavole di cipresso."

96. [Fol. 37.]—17 mai 1552: mandat de paiement de la dépense précédente.

97.—"Al Faerno, scudi cinque d' oro, per un mandato del Cardinale Maffeo, per la sua provisione del mese de settembre, sotto il dì 8 di settembre 1552."

98. [Fol. 37 v°.]—21 mai 1552: 15 écus d'or à Francesco Tramezino "per tanti ne he fatti pagare in Venetia da suoi agenti a messer Francesco Torres[2] per fare scrivare libri greci...."

99.—11 août 1552: 5 écus d'or à Faerno pour son traitement, sur mandat du cardinal Maffei.

100. [Fol. 38.]—23 juillet 1552: 6 écus d'or "a messer Manuello greco, per la scrittura delle *Epistole di san Giovanni Chrisostomo* in greco"; mandat du cardinal Maffei, biffé, avec cette note marginale: "Detto mandato non si è esequito, et si stracciò."

101.—7 juillet 1552: 10 écus d'or à Faerno pour son traitement des mois de juin et de juillet, sur mandat du cardinal Maffei.

102. [Fol. 38 v°.]—20 novembre 1552: 8 écus "a Emanuelle greco per la scrittura delle *Homelie di Austino*, *di Giovanni Damasceno in defentione delle imagine*, *et Niceta in defentione della quarta synodo*... Tutti tre sono greci et non erano in libraria."

103. [Fol. 39.]—"La spesa fatta in polzoni per la stampa di libri soriani importa dieci scudi, che di tanto si è fatto patto col

[1] Sur ce savant helléniste et médecin véronais, qui professa plus tard à l'Université de Rome, voy. le travail déjà cité de Beltrami, pp. 999–1000.

[2] Le 26 juin 1552, Cervini écrit à Sirleto: "Quanto a' libri mandati dal Torres, sarà bene che messer Fausto et il Maiorano li faccino legare et riporre. Ho scritto al Guardarobba che se ne facesse far la ricevuta da' custodi per conservarla con le a[ltre]." *Vat. lat.* 6178, fol. 10.

Mo [Moyse?]...Δ 10.—Item la forma, scudi tre...Δ 3.—Item ha speso in mistura per tragettare littere da fare una mostra, jul. 3."

104.—3 décembre 1552: mandat de paiement en faveur de "Moyse soriano," 13 écus d'or "quali si sonno spesi per far la stampa da stampare libri in lingua soriana per uso della Libraria."

105. [Fol. 39 vo.]—14 décembre 1552: à mastro Luigi, ligatore, 3 écus "di moneta" et 6 jules "per ligatura d' un *libro hebreo* in foglio, di *Euclide* greco in foglio, d' *Eusebio* greco in foglio, et d' un *Vocabulista hebreo* in foglio."

106. [Fol. 40.]—24 décembre 1552: mandat de paiement (biffé) de 11 écus d'or en faveur de Francesco Torres.—En bas: "Reformato, chè non stava bene; però casso[1]."

107. [Fol. 40 vo.]—24 décembre 1552: 12 jules "a Natale di Natale, per haver racconcie undici matre, et aggiustata una forma della stampa greca, per far stampare *Giovanni Chrisostomo de Verginitate* per uso della libraria apostolica."

108.—" A messer Andrea Magi scudi dua et jul. 5 per altretanti spesi da lui per un *libro hebraico* per ordine del R.mo Maffeo, per un mandato di S. S. R.ma sotto il dì 20 d' Agosto 1552."

109. [Fol. 41.]—3 janvier 1553: 2 écus ½ d'or à messer Francesco Torres "per il resto della scrittura d' *Eusebio contra Marcello heretico*, et *Origine contra Marcione*, scritti in Venetia;—et più scudi 6 et mezzo per la scrittura et rincontratura dell' *Homelie di Basilio Seleucio*, scritte in Firenze;—et trentacinque giulii ad Emanuelle greco, per la scrittura della *Philocalia d' Origene*;—che fanno in tutto la summa di scudi dodici d' oro et due giulii; quali libri si sonno fatti scrivare per la libraria apostolica.—Δ 13—4—."

110. [Fol. 41 vo.]—" 1. I *Meccanici di Atheneo, et altri autori di cose bellice* ligati insieme.

2. *Gregorio Archiepiscopo di Thessalonice della processione del Spirito Santo* con altri diversi trattati ligati insieme.

3. Un *compendio della legge* Epitomati (*sic*) ad instantia di Basilio Imperatore.

4. *Nonna* (*sic*) *poeta*, quale scrive la speditione di Bacco contra l' Indi.

5. Procopio sopra il Genesi."

111. [Fol. 42.]—12 janvier 1553: mandat de paiement de 50 écus d'or en faveur de messer Nicolò Maiorano, "per haverne tanti egli sborsati a bon conto a messer Giorgio Corinthio per parte del prezzo delli sopra scritti libri compri da detto messer Giorgio

[1] Il y eut sans doute quelque difficulté au sujet de ce paiement; car Sirleto mande à Cervini, le 9 juillet 1552: "Del Torres se pigliarà quello espediente che V. S. R.ma m' ha advisato." *Vat. lat.* 6177, fol. 149 vo.

per uso della libraria; quali montorno in tutto scudi settanta tre simili."

112. [Fol. 42 v°.]—21 janvier 1553: 20 écus d'or à Faerno pour son traitement des mois d'octobre, novembre, décembre 1552, et janvier 1553.

113. [Fol. 43.]—" 1. *Argonautica d'Apollonio* scritta in penna con comento.

2. Un altra *Argonautica* di diversa scrittura senza comento.

3. *Etymologico greco* scritto a penna.

4. La *Vita di Alessandro Magno.*

5. *Oppiano de Pesci* con annotationi."

114.—7 février 1553: 12 écus "di moneta" "a mastro Antonio Zeno, libraro, per il prezzo delli soprascritti libri."

115. [Fol. 43 v°.]—11 février 1553: 12 jules à Natale di Natale, "per havere acconcie certe matre di novo oltra le altre della stampa greca per stampare libri per uso della libraria apostolica."

116.—19 avril 1553: "a Emanuelle greco, 6 scudi di moneta per la scrittura d' un libro greco detto *Gennadio Scolario.*"

117. [Fol. 44.]—"Conto [di Ferdinando Ruano] con la libraria.—Di carta bambacina che ho pigliata per fornire il *Psalmista*, jul. 10;—per fornire l'*Apocalypse*, jul. 12;—inchiostro, jul. 2;—vernice, jul. 1.—Di carta pecora per scrivare in bona forma l' *Apochalypsi*, jul. 7;—per fare la *tavola della libraria greca*, otto carte de 6 baiochi l' una, viene ba. 48;—per fare li tituli della libraria greca, sedeci carte a 6 b. la carta, viene jul. 9 b. 6;—vernice, jul. 1.—Di farina, per fare la colla per attacare li tituli, quattro libre a otto quattrini la libra, viene ba. 6;—inchiostro, jul. 2.—Per oro per fare le littere capitale, dodici fogli, doi carlini, car. 2.—Sommano jul. 45 b. 7."

118.—19 avril 1553: mandat de paiement de la note précédente, 4 écus $\frac{1}{2}$, en faveur de Ferdinando "Roano."

119. [Fol. 45.]—19 avril 1553: 4 écus d'or à messer Filippo Hierio, "per ordine di Monsignor Nuntio di Venetia [Ludovico Beccadelli], per la scrittura d' un libro greco detto *Giovanni Chrisostomo de Virginitate.*"

120.—19 avril 1553: 15 écus d'or à Faerno pour son traitement des mois de février, mars et avril.

121. [Fol. 45 v°.]—2 juin 1553: "a Emanuelle greco, sei scudi di moneta per il resto di doi libri compri per soe mani da Michele greco, l' uno chiamato *Laonico sopra l' Historia di Turchi*, l' altro *Marco Eremita*, et *Diadoco.*"

122.—4 juin 1553: "a Luigi, ligator de libri, 2 scudi di moneta per la ligatura de dui libri greci in penna in foglio: uno si

chiama *Laonico del' historie de Turchi*, et l' altro *Marco Monaco de Lege spirituale*; et più julii quattro per quattro tavole de cipresso messe a detti libri."

123. [Fol. 46.]—4 juin 1553: 10 écus d'or à Faerno, pour son traitement des mois de mai et juin.

124.—4 juin 1553: 4 écus "di moneta" à Federigo Rinaldi, "scrittor dela libraria apostolica," pour son traitement des mois d'avril et mai.

[En marge, d'une autre main, celle de Domenico ou d'Alessandro Rinaldi:] "Hic postea fuit Custos dictæ Bibliothecæ ob resignationem Fausti Sabei. Fuit certe vir doctus et optimarum partium, et inservivit continue per 40 annos absque aliqua recognitione, et mortuus 2 septembris 1590, et sepultus in ecclesia D. Petri in Vaticano, in capella quæ dicitur Regis Franciæ, cum Iulio eius ex fratre nepote.—Ego alter nepos scripsi."

125. [Fol. 46 v°.]—4 juin 1553: 6 écus "di moneta" à messer Nicolò Maiorano, "per la copia di *Giovanni Damasceno de Imaginibus*; et Δ^{do} uno d' oro per la copia della *Vita di detto Giovanni*; et julii nove per 18 carte pecore [et?] per un libro stampato di detto Damasceno per la libraria apostolica."

126.—2 septembre 1553: "a Federigo, scrittore della libraria apostolica," 6 écus pour son traitement des mois de juin, juillet et août: "et in fede havemo sotto scritto et fatto sigillare il presente mandato col nostro solito sigillo questo dì 2 di settembre 1553. In Agubio. M. Cardinalis Sanctæ +."

127. [Fol. 47.]—29 octobre 1553: 20 écus d'or à Faerno, pour son traitement des mois de juillet, août, septembre et octobre.

128.—9 novembre 1553: 4 écus "di moneta a Federigo Rinaldi, scrittore della libraria," pour son traitement des mois de septembre et octobre.

129. [Fol. 47 v°.]—1er décembre 1553: 2 écus "di moneta" à Federigo Rinaldi pour son traitement de novembre.

130.—17 décembre 1553: 10 écus d'or à Faerno, pour son traitement des mois de novembre et décembre.

131.—13 janvier 1554: 5 écus d'or à Faerno pour son traitement du mois de janvier.

132. [Fol. 48.]—14 janvier 1554: 7 écus "di moneta" à mastro Antonio Zeno "per il prezzo di tre libri greci, cioè *Ethimologico di grandi* (*sic*), *Filone*, et *Licofrone*."

133.—14 janvier 1554: "A messer Guglielmo Sirleto scudi cinquanta d' oro, quali Nostro Signore li donò per mancia, et per la fatica che esso messer Guglielmo ha durata già sei anni in

corregere tutto il Testamento novo secondo i decreti del Concilio Tridentino."

134. [Fol. 48 v°.]—26 janvier 1554: 4 écus "di moneta" à Federigo Rinaldi pour son traitement des mois de décembre 1553 et janvier 1554.

135.—27 janvier 1554: 4 écus d'or "a Emanuelle greco, per il prezzo d' un libro chiamato *Metafrasto del mese del settembre*, compro da lui per uso della libraria."

136. [Fol. 49.]—"A mastro Cales, cartularo," 5 écus "di moneta" et 41 baïoques pour fourniture de papier, encre et vernis.

137.—18 février 1554: 4 écus "di moneta a mastro Luigi, ligatore, per la ligatura di tre libri greci, cioè *Filone*, *Licofrone*, et *Ethimologico*."

138. [Fol. 49 v°.]—8 mars 1554: "A messer Giovanni Honorio julii quaranta doi per la miniatura di quattro libri, cioè la prima parte del' *Epistole de Isidoro* greco, et la seconda parte de dette Pistole, di *Theofilatto sopra le Epistole di san Paulo*, et di *Athanasio*, per uso della libraria."

139.—27 mars 1554: "a messer Antonio Diaz, penetenzierio, scudi cinque di moneta per haver rincontrato *san Hieronimo sopra Psalmi*, qual libro si è fatto scrivare per la libraria."

140. [Fol. 50.]—4 avril 1554: 10 écus d'or à Faerno, pour son traitement des mois de février et mars.

141.—4 écus "di moneta" à Federigo Rinaldi, pour son traitement des mois de février et mars.

142.—19 avril 1554: "A messer Nicolò Franzese, ligatore di libri, per la ligatura di *Damasceno*, *Origene*, et *Athanasio*, julii trenta cinque."

143. [Fol. 50 v°.]—6 mai 1554: 10 écus d'or, pour son traitement des mois d'avril et mai.

144.—6 mai 1554: 4 écus "di moneta" à Federigo Rinaldi, pour son traitement des mois d'avril et mai.

145.—8 mai 1554: "A mastro Filippo, cartolaro in Parione, scudi tre d' oro per tante carte pecore prese da lui per far scrivare la *prima messa del Avvento*."

146. [Fol. 51.]—A Federigo Rinaldi, "scrittore della libraria apostolica," 6 écus pour son traitement des mois de juin, juillet et août. "Et in fede havemo sotto scritto, et fatto sigillare il presente mandato col nostro solito sigillo, questo dì primo de settembre 1554. In Agubio.—M. Cardinalis Sanctæ +."

147.—10 écus d'or à Faerno, pour son traitement des mois de juin et juillet. Mandat daté: "D' Agobbio, il dì 15 di Luglio 1554."

148. [Fol. 51 v°.]—8 novembre 1554: à Federigo Rinaldi, 19 écus "di moneta," quali se li danno che li rimetta in Firenze a messer Arnoldo Arlenio per la scrittura et riscontratura di *Cyrillo sopra Esaija Propheta*, qual libro ha fatto scrivere esso messer Arnoldo per la libraria apostolica[1]."

149.—8 novembre 1554: 4 écus d'or à Federigo Rinaldi pour son traitement des mois de septembre et d'octobre.

150. [Fol. 52.]—8 novembre 1554: 12 écus et 13 jules "a mastro Luigi, ligatore," pour la reliure de livres grecs et latins non spécifiés.

151.—11 novembre 1554: 20 écus d'or à Faerno, pour son traitement des mois d'août, septembre, octobre et novembre.

Somma la sopra detta uscita sino a questo dì, nel quale fu saldato il conto con Monsignor di Forlì [Aleotto], Δ 715.

152. [Fol. 52 v°.]—9 janvier 1555: 9 écus d'or à Federigo Rinaldi, "quali si li danno che li consegnia a Francesco greco per il resto della sua mercede della scrittura di *san Giovanni Chrisostomo sopra Salmi*."

153.—9 janvier 1555: 6 écus d'or à Federigo Rinaldi, pour son traitement des mois de novembre et décembre 1554, et de janvier 1555.

154. [Fol. 53.]—18 janvier 1555: à Federigo Rinaldi, 5 écus "di moneta, quali si li danno per il prezzo di cinque libri, cioè *Plinio de naturali historia*; *Polibio* greco, et latino; *Epistolario greco*; una *espositione hebrea sopra alcuni luogi della Bibia*, et un *trattato di diversi Privilegii di alcuni Pontifici*, compri da Antonio Zeno."

155.—31 janvier 1555: 10 écus d'or à Faerno, pour son traitement des mois de décembre 1554 et janvier 1555.

156. [Fol. 53 v°.]—2 février 1555: 3 jules ½ à mastro Nicolò Franzese pour la reliure d'un livre grec non spécifié.

157.—3 avril 1555: 6 écus à Federigo Rinaldi, pour son traitement des mois de février et de mars.

158.—3 avril 1555: 15 écus d'or à Faerno, pour son traitement des mois de février, mars et avril.

[1] Cette copie traîna en longueur, car on lit, dans une lettre de Sirleto à Cervini, 18 juillet 1552: "Da Firenze non ho havuto altro adviso, nè quinterno alcuno di Cyrillo dopo quelli primi, che V. S. R.ma ha veduti." *Vat. lat.* 6177, fol. 147.—Et dans une autre, de Cervini à Sirleto: "Da Fiorenza si non viene qualche altro quinterno scritto, potrete modestamente sollecitare Arnoldo, parendovi."

159.—2 avril 1555: 6 écus d'or "a Emanuelle greco, per parte della scrittura de un libro greco che lui scrive per uso della libraria, detto li *Sermoni di Nilo Monaco*."

160. [Fol. 54.]—4 avril 1555: 6 écus à Federigo Rinaldi, "per le opere di *Iustino martyre* latine stampate, et per quattro volumi de *Vite de santi* scritte in pergameno."

161.—4 avril 1555: "a mastro Luigi, ligatore," 39 jules "per la ligatura di *Joanni Chrisostomo sopra gli Atti delli Apostoli*; *Joanni Stobeo de arithmetica*, et *Cyrillo sopra Isaija*[1]."

[1] Le registre s'arrête ici parceque, le 9 avril 1555, Cervini fut élu pape sous le nom de Marcel II. Il mourut vingt-et-un jours après.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF CANONS REGULAR

AS ILLUSTRATED BY

THE FOUNDATION OF BARNWELL PRIORY

Among the many new developments of church life in the latter part of the eleventh century an honoured place is held by the institution of Canons Regular. It was no wholly new departure, for in previous days the plan had been adopted of gathering the Canons of a church into a community under a priestly rule so that they became Canons Regular instead of Secular. In particular this project had flourished in earlier days through the formulation of a Canon's Rule by Chrodegang of Metz (742—766), and through the adoption of this or a similar system within the Frankish empire in the ninth century[1]. But the centuries between had been days of rapine and decay, during which the larger ecclesiastical establishments, if they preserved a continuity, did so, as a rule, only with the loss of order and efficiency; while the smaller ones in many cases perished altogether, or lapsed into lay hands.

[1] Heimbucher, *Die Orden und Kongregationen*, 1907, ii. 3 and ff. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, ii. 62 etc. 585.

There was therefore a great field open to reform and recovery in the days of revival that began in the middle of the eleventh century. While the monks on many sides were setting their households in order, the clergy who were devoted to pastoral work felt the need of something to support them in the way of corporate life and discipline. So there came a revival of the Canon Regular, by which the priest who served a church could, without becoming a monk or giving up his pastoral ideals, gain the help that he needed to stand fast in dangerous days.

An early sign of this is to be seen in Canon IV of the Council held at Rome in 1059. In this the clergy are exhorted, having given up the married state, to join in sharing a common life, a common table and a common abode at their several churches[1]. Thenceforward the movement for Canons Regular went along with the campaign on behalf of clerical celibacy.

As we watch the movement spreading in Italy, France, England and Germany, tracing it most easily in the papal documents from the days of Leo IX to Innocent II (*i.e.* 1048—1143), or following it out in greater detail in the local histories, we note two lines of development. First there is the great ecclesiastical establishment, where a group or corporation of clergy, or of Secular Canons, seeks a reform which will bring them under corporate discipline. They therefore adopt a Rule; and, by way of securing themselves in this novel develop-

[1] Harduin, *Conc.* VI. 1062. This was repeated at a similar Council in 1093 under Alexander II (*ibid.* 1139).

ment, they seek a confirmation of what they have done from Pope, King, or Bishop. This is a very simple line of development, and it does not call for much further comment. But secondly we observe a tendency on the part of patrons and lords to group the churches of their estates together and put them into the hands of a body of Regular Canons established for the purpose at some central church.

These two processes are widely different, yet they each result in the establishment of a body of Canons Regular. In Italy the former plan predominates: a notable instance of it is the case of St Frigdian at Lucca. This was an old establishment, which traced its history back to a monastery of the Irish founded by St Frigdian *c.* 560: but at this epoch it became, perhaps among the first, the home of a body of Regular Canons. Their primary duty was to serve their own conventual church. But there are signs of the second tendency blending with the first; for very soon other establishments were handed over to their care, till the Canons of St Frigdian formed one of the foremost corporations of clergy in Italy. Alexander II, who had come from among them to be pope, gave them their first extant privilege in 1068: after that date bulls to their advantage are to be found in abundance. Some of the greatest churches were entrusted to them, culminating in Sta Croce at Rome, and the Lateran Church itself[1].

The second tendency manifested itself (along

[1] The course of this development is easiest seen in Kehr, *Italia Pontificia* (1908), iii. 112 and ff.

with the first) in the early days of the movement in France. In 1060, Henry I refounded St Martin's outside Paris for Canons Regular and, at the request of the bishop, handed over to it a group of churches in the suburbs on the death of Gerald the clerk their holder at the moment[1]. A little later Ivo of Chartres did much to forward the movement, and his foundation of St Quintin's at Beauvais (1078) was the model of others. The papal approbation of this step was given by Urban II in 1093[2]; and after that date evidence of the development in France is clearer. Carcassonne, Cahors, Avignon had similar privileges in 1095[3] and probably Soissons also. The exact nature of the foundation is not always evident: but clearly the last case at any rate is of the second type; for the purpose of the institution, as stated in Urban's privilege, is[4]—

ut in parochianis ecclesiis quae ad vestrum monasterium pertinent regulares vobis liceat claustri vestri canonicos ordinare, qui et ecclesiis ipsis religiose serviant, et adjacentis populi parochiam...sollicite procurare non negligant.

There is no need to trace this further in France nor to quote evidence of the parallel development that was proceeding in Germany. We turn to England with these general lines ready defined for us, and find them again reproduced. It would be easy to multiply instances of the foundations of the first type: but one conspicuous instance will be enough. At Waltham Cross Harold the Earl

[1] Migne, *P. L.* CLI. 1037—9.

[2] Jaffé, *Regesta*, 4108.

[3] *Ib.* 4163, 4171, 4175, and 4297; cp. 4208.

[4] Migne, *P. L.* CLI. col. 524, No. CCLXII.

founded a corporation of Regular Canons in the days of the Confessor. The new foundation superseded the old church of the place, which had been erected by Tofig to receive a miraculous cross. A new church was built and equipped with all necessaries, while the corporation was endowed with landed estates, most of which survived to them after the Conquest[1]. The establishment of Harold's is probably the earliest English foundation of this era for Regular Canons. The founder aims at being *canonicae regulae strenuus institutor*, and his Canons are *catervula fratrum secundum auctoritatem sanctorum patrum canonicae regulae subjecta.* It is necessary to insist upon this: for, if their estates remained to them after the Conquest, apparently their Rule did not. They became Secular Canons[2], and were refounded by Henry II as a house of Regular Canons of St Augustine, in 1174—1177.

The purpose here of the original founder in 1060—1062 is the establishment of a big conventual church with clergy to serve it, a community *quae deo et sanctis ejus die noctuque laudes hymnizando decantet.* There is no sign in the foundation of the entrusting of any churches or pastoral cure. The later charters shew in many cases that the church of the estate had been handed over to the Canons. The charter of Henry II speaks of the "church"

[1] Dugdale, *Monast.* vi. 61 and ff. Domesday ii. 15: i. 136: 210; 58. *V.C.H. Essex*, ii. 166.

[2] Stubbs, in his *Foundation of Waltham Abbey*, seems to think that from the beginning they were Seculars: but this view is hardly consistent with the foundation charter, which uses the technical language of the day, applicable to Canons Regular not Secular. At the least then the intention was that they should be Regulars.

on six out of the eleven estates in Essex[1], one of the two in Herts, and one of the two in Beds. What responsibility this involved in 1177 is a question that will more easily be answered later. At present we have to note that in 1062 there was apparently a giving of churches as well as lands to the Canons, though this aspect of the case is not made prominent. The church is a part of the estate and therefore goes with it: but the intention is to equip the Canons with estates, and only incidentally they carry with them churches.

Thirty years passed before a similar foundation was again possible in England. They were troublous years, and even at the end of them the conditions were hardly settled enough to allow of such peaceful policies. Consequently the early days of the next foundations were difficult: in some instances we find that the generation of the Conqueror was not able to complete the arrangements that it wished to make, but left the work to the next[2]: in the case of Barnwell Priory, one of the earliest foundations in England, the first attempt was almost ruined. This fact however only adds to the interest with which we scrutinize the History, and the documents enshrined in it, as given in the *Liber Memorandorum*[3].

Chief among these is the Foundation Charter of Picot and Hugoline his wife in 1092.

[1] One of these, viz. Epping, is not in the foundation charter: but it is in Domesday.

[2] See the case of Thremhale, *Mon.* vi. 75: Huntingdon, *ibid.* 79: Nostell, *ibid.* 89 &c. Huntingdon was probably the earliest of the foundations. It supplied Barnwell with its first prior in 1092 and Merton in 1114. Heales, *Records of Merton Priory*, 2.

[3] ed. J. W. Clark, Cambridge, 1907.

Picotus vicecomes omnibus hominibus suis et amicis francis et anglis tam presentibus quam futuris salutem.

Sciatis me consilio domini Remigij Lincolniensis Episcopi et precibus Hugoline vxoris mee constituisse canonicos regulares apud Cantebrigiam ad Ecclesiam Sancti Egidij inperpetuum deo seruituros et eorum consilio dedisse canonicis et concessisse et hac mea carta confirmasse pro amore dei et pro salute anime mee Ecclesiam sancti Egidij de Cantebrigia, ubi domus eorum fundata est, Ecclesiam de Mordone cum Capella de Redderia, Ecclesiam de Thadelaus, Ecclesiam de Brune cum Capella Castelli et cum Capella de Caldecote, Ecclesiam de Cumbertone, Ecclesiam de Maddingele, Ecclesiam de Ramptone, Ecclesiam de Harlestone et de Henxtone, habendas et tenendas libere, quiete, honorifice, integre, in pratis, in terris, et pasturis, et cum decimis molendinorum et cum omnibus alijs pertinencijs in uillis et extra uillas in liberam et puram et perpetuam elemosinam.

Concessi similiter iam dictis canonicis consilio predicti Remigij Lincolniensis Episcopi duas partes decimarum de omnibus dominiis omnium militum meorum in Cantebrigesira: scilicet de Queya, de Stowe, de Waterbeche, de Middeltone, de Impetone, de Histone, de Grettone, de Hokitone, de Ramtone, de Cottham, de Lollesworthe, de Trumpitone, de Haselingfeld, de Harletone, de Eueresdone, de Tofte, de Caldecote, de Kingestone, de Wynepola, de Crawedene[1], de Halteleya, de Pampesworthe, de Aldewincle, habendas et tenendas libere quiete et integre in perpetuam et puram elemosinam, ad domus sue et illic deo seruiencium perpetuam sustentacionem. Hij sunt testes, Humfridus Capellanus, etc.

By this charter Picot and his wife constitute Canons Regular at St Giles' Church in Cambridge, and give certain endowments. The first thing to be noted is the character of the endowment: it consists (*a*) of churches and (*b*) of tithes. There is no mention of complete vills or manors. This suggests forcibly that the foundation is one of the second type—an aggregation of pastoral cures in the hands of a central body of clergy. Canon Holmes

[1] MS. has Grandena.

has shewn[1] how foundations of this type grew up all through England at this period, designed to be centres from which the country districts could be evangelized and shepherded. It seems as though the natural plan to be adopted by the new Norman lord, who had a conscience about the spiritual welfare of the men on his various estates, was to entrust the spiritual care of them to a body of Regular Canons. Parochial organization had as yet hardly begun: and even such ecclesiastical organization as there had been in towns and vills and large holdings was overwhelmed in the turmoils and upheaval. There was therefore a great need of provision to be made along such lines in town and country: and Picot's foundation at Barnwell is not only one of the earliest of the group, but is also typical of many others.

First we consider its centre. The historian of the foundation, writing at a later date, states that Picot built the church of St Giles for the Canons[2]. The foundation charter however does not say this, nor would such a procedure be the usual one. In most cases the Canons were installed in some existing central church. There seems to be no reason to doubt that this was really the case here. The historian of later days said otherwise, only because, in describing the building of the church, he wrote what would have been natural at his own time,

[1] *Journ. Theol. Stud.* (1904), v. 343 and ff. But he seems to leave a one-sided impression on the mind, partly because he leaves out of account the Canons who from the first were of the other type, and partly because he does not make clear how speedily Houses of the second type passed into the first category by giving up their parochial cures.

[2] *Liber Mem.* 39.

not what would have been natural at the earlier date. Indeed the charter makes this point amply clear; for it heads the list of the churches given over to the Canons with the church of St Giles, existing no doubt already, like the rest, and frequented by its congregation.

Next we consider the endowment and we note that we have here the unique instance of the foundation of a priory of Canons Regular by one who was a tenant-in-chief at the time of the great Survey. We can therefore compare his benefaction with his recorded estates; and this procedure gives us a very valuable insight into the circumstances. Now Picot, or Picot de Grentebrige as the Survey calls him, had the bulk of his holding in the south-western part of Cambridgeshire.

The following is a list of his estates, held in chief, as given in the Domesday Survey:

D	Coeia	(Quy cum Stow)	Stanes Hundred
	Pampesuuorde	(Pampisford)	Cildeford Hundred
E	Hestitone	(Hinxton)	Witelesford Hundred
E	Herlestone	(Harston)	Trepeslav Hundred
D	Trumpintone	(Trumpington)	
E	Tadelai	(Tadlow)	Erningford Hundred
E	Mordune	(Guilden Morden)	
	Cloptune	(Clopton)	
	Hatelai	(East Hatley)	
D	Crauuedene	(Croydon)	
	Abintone	(Abington Pigotts)	
E	Cumbertone	(Comberton)	Wederlai Hundred
	Grantesete	(Grantchester)	
D	Haslingfeld	(Haslingfield)	
D	Herletone	(Harlton)	
	Barentone	(Barrington)	
	Warateuuorde	(part of Orwell)	
	Witeuuella	(part of Wimpole)	
D	Chingestone	(Kingston)	Stov Hundred

D	Tofth	(Toft)	
E	Brune	(Bourn with Caldecot)	
D	Hatelai	(Hatley St George)	
D	Papeuuorde	(Papworth Agnes)	Papeworde Hundred
	Draitone	(Fen Drayton)	
	Oure	(Over)	
	Wiuelingham	(Willingham)	
	Stanton	(Long Stanton)	Norestov Hundred
DE	Rantone	(Rampton)	
D	Lolesuuorde	(Lolworth)	
E	Madingelei	(Madingley)	
D	Gretone	(Girton)	
D	Hochintone	(Oakington)	
D	Epintone	(Impington)	
D	Middeltone	(Milton)	
	Bech	(Waterbeach)	
D	Utbech	(Landbeach)	
D	Coteham	(Cottenham)	Cestretone Hundred
	Westuuiche	(Westwick)	
	Cildelai	(Childerley)[1]	

Picot also held several manors, both as an undertenant of other barons, and as a farmer of escheats temporarily in the king's hand. In the former capacity we find him holding of the Bishop of Lincoln, of Count Alan, of Robert Gernon, of Eudo Dapifer, of Guy de Reimbudcurt and others. These undertenancies were all in Cambridgeshire, with the exception of Aldwinkle in Northamptonshire held, like Eversden, of Guy de Reimbudcurt, but as a farmer for the king he was also concerned in Essex and Suffolk.

We may now compare the Domesday Barony with Picot's charter. For convenience in comparison the places are markèd with D and E denoting the tithes and churches respectively with which

[1] The list may be compared with the similar list of spiritualities in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas of 1291. *Liber Mem.* IV. 5: and *Taxatio P. Nicholai* (Record Com.), pp. 265—8.

Picot deals in the charter. We first observe that he assigns to his foundation nine churches. They all correspond with places which are named in the barony, except the church of St Giles in Cambridge. There is no mention of this, nor would one expect to find any notice taken of a town church, such as it was, in the Survey. There are also three chapelries mentioned, two belonging to Bourn and one to Morden. These are not mentioned separately in Domesday, for they belonged to the manors to which they were appendant. It is possible to identify Redderia as the chapelry at Morden Hall in the parish of Guilden Morden; for this vill and not Steeple Morden seems to be meant[1]. Of the two belonging to Bourn, Caldecot became later, and still remains, a separate parish: the other chapelry is that of Picot's own castle at Bourn.

The other class of gift which we observe is his assignment of tithes. He gives *duas partes decimarum de omnibus dominiis omnium militum meorum in Cantebrigesira*, *scilicet*:—there follow twenty-three names. All of them figure in the Domesday list of Picot's lands held in chief, except six, viz. Stow, Histon, Eversden, Caldecot, Wimpole and Aldwinkle. Of these, Histon, Eversden and Aldwinkle were estates held by Picot as a sub-tenant; Stow and Caldecot in Domesday are comprised in Quy and Bourn respectively[2], while the mention of

[1] The Canons had later the presentation to Guilden Morden. See *Liber Mem.* §§ 103—106.

[2] The Domesday Survey in speaking of Stow cum Quy always calls the village "Coeia," but the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis* (p. 15, ed. Hamilton) refers to it as "Choeie et Stona" without however distinguishing the two parts clearly.

Wimpole shews that Whitwell was already losing its distinctive name and merging with its neighbour.

There still remains one doubtful point of identification. The charter does not make clear whether the Hatley there mentioned is East Hatley in Erningford Hundred or Hatley St George in Stow Hundred. Its position, next in the list to Croydon, seems to suggest the former : but what Picot was giving was the tithes of his undertenants' lands (*de omnibus dominiis militum meorum*) and at East Hatley he held in desmesne himself and had no undertenant[1]. At Hatley St George on the other hand he had an undertenant. Further evidence comes from a later date; for "Hungrehattele" in the deanery of Bourn (*i.e.* Hatley St George) is the one which figures among the spiritualities of Barnwell in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas 1291[2]. This seems to be decisive in its favour.

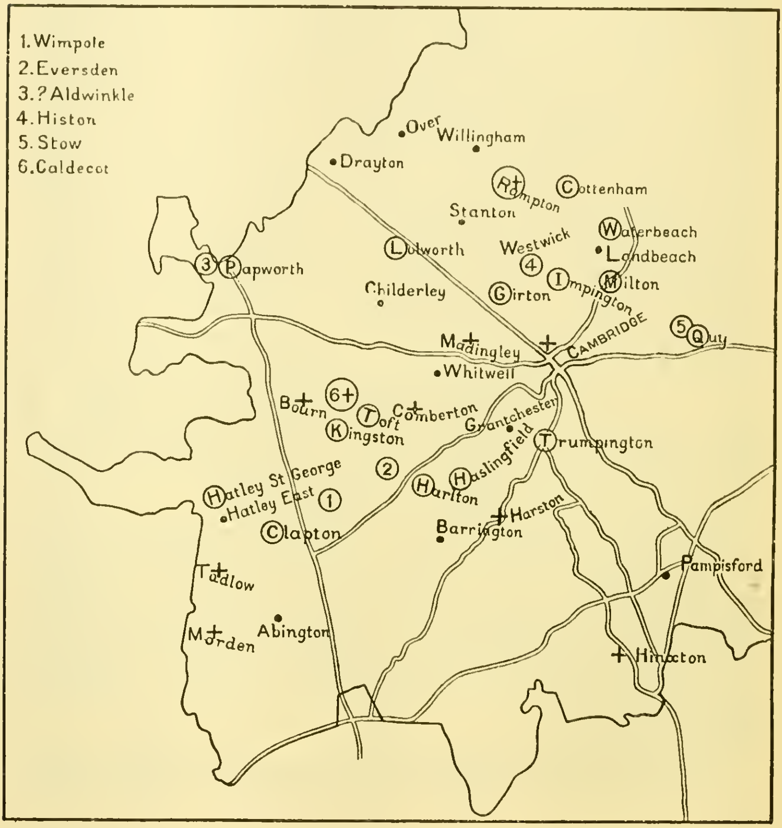
There are further a number of places which come under Picot's name in Domesday but are not in his charter. We observe that in all of them his holding was insignificant, ranging from a garden at Clopton up to four hides at Stanton out of the total twelve, and three hides out of a total of four at Westwick.

It should also be noted that there are other places

[1] At Harlton domain is mentioned in connexion with Walter Giffard, not Picot (*Inq.* 73 ; Domesd. 196). Similarly at Oakington, Croyland Abbey had domain, and Ely at Impington ; but none is mentioned in Picot's case at either place.

[2] *Liber Mem.* IV. 5.

where Picot is a sub-tenant besides the three places, Histon, Eversden and Aldwinkle, which are named in the grant : and at none of these does he give tithes.



The general result of our enquiry into the relation of the charter to Domesday is, broadly speaking, to shew that Picot gave to Barnwell the

spiritualities which he possessed, corresponding to nearly all the holdings of any importance which he had as tenant-in-chief, as baron of Bourn, and to a portion of the holdings that he possessed as a subtenant of other baronies.

The map will shew the geographical situation. It contains all Picot's estates as mentioned in Domesday, while those mentioned only in the charter are indicated by numerals. The cross indicates the "Church" and the circle the "Tithe" as given by Picot to Barnwell.

It is time to consider next the nature of the two distinct classes of benefaction which Picot gave to his foundation, first noting that there are two names which appear both in the list of churches and in the list of tithes, viz. Caldecot and Rampton. Neither of these two classes is to be found mentioned among the benefactions of Saxon days previous to the time of the Confessor[1]. The benefactions then given were land, houses, rents, mills, ponds, etc. or money. The "spiritualities" do not appear in the charters of those days. But when continental influence begins in the Confessor's days the case alters and spiritualities are dealt with separably from temporalities[2]. An early sign of change may be seen in the foundation of Coventry. Leofric the founder only mentions the names of vills which he gives.

[1] But the churches are occasionally mentioned as included in lists of possessions in English Charters of earlier days, *e.g.* in Canute's Charter to Croyland. Kemble's *Codex Dipl.* IV. No. 748 of 1032.

[2] The distinction can easily be seen to have been drawn in Normandy earlier than in England by referring to the early charters in Round, *Calendar of Documents preserved in France*—*e.g.* 1109, 1165.

But Edward in his confirmatory charter amplifies this as follows:

Necnon maneria et ecclesias, cemiteria, decimas, redditus et servicia debita, oblationes, luminaria, causarum discussiones, emendationes ecclesiasticas vel seculares, et quidquid illi loco collatum est, sub integra immunitate concedimus, et perpetuo firmamus[1].

We thereafter note that while, as of old, the gift of a vill may include the church; the church was now becoming a separate or separable property. Edward for example in his charter for St Benet's at Hulme[2] had recently given a number of churches, sometimes *cum tota villa*, sometimes apart from anything else, or with special parcels of land. And as for the Normans, they had even earlier found it convenient to distinguish the spiritualities from the temporalities: for this made it easy for them to give the churches and keep the lands. The foundations therefore of the last thirty years of the eleventh century exhibit this distinction. They had for their endowment either "temporalities," such as land, rents, houses, mills, etc. or else "spiritualities" including "churches" or "tithes"; most commonly they had a mixture of both. Thus the Conqueror started Battle Abbey with his royal estate of Wye in Kent, with five manors and three churches, Reading, Colyton, and St Olave's, Exeter[3]. Picot's gifts to Barnwell are somewhat unusual in that they consist solely of spiritualities.

[1] *Monast.* iii. 191. Cp. a much earlier instance *Cal. Doc. in Fr.* No. 1373 of 964.

[2] *Monast.* iii. 83.

[3] *Ibid.* 244.

Next we must distinguish between different sorts of spiritualities; and, in this instance, determine what is meant by "church" and "tithe." It is necessary to banish from the latter term the thought of a payment due to an incumbent of a parish; and to recover for it the wider meaning, viz. that proportion of a man's incomings which he was bound to set aside for religious and charitable objects. Now this tenth part was not all due to the Church; nor on the other hand was it the whole of what a man would have to pay to ecclesiastical and charitable objects. For (1) tithe was held to be due partly to the Church, partly to the bishop, and partly to the poor; and at various times various divisions of tithe among these and other objects were prescribed. Also (2) the landowner had other dues to pay which varied with time and place—such as a Rome-scot or Peter's pence, which went to Rome; a church-scot, which was probably in some cases at any rate one of the contributions due to the bishop; or local dues that went to the priest, either in payment for services done, such as fees for burial, or for his general support, like Easter dues[1].

The tithe varied greatly in its nature. In corn country the main tithe was a tithe of corn, but in pasture country the tithe of beasts was more important: while everywhere the principle of tithing extended to all sources of income,—gardens, cheeses, skins, honey, etc. In practice it was common to distinguish between the greater sums, properly called "tithe," and the lesser sums; and while the latter were commonly allocated by custom to the local

[1] Vinogradoff, *English Soc. in Eleventh Cent.* 373, 441, 454.

needs of the local church or chapel and its priest, the others—"the tithes"—were not necessarily so allocated, but might be devoted to such religious objects as the payer of the "tithe" thought best. In some cases it seems that the knights and tenants paid their main tithe to their lord[1], so that he had the allocation of all the main tithes of the manor; while the minor tithes alone were left to be paid by the villagers to local church needs. In other cases one-third of the main tithe was reserved for the pay of the priest and the remaining two-thirds were at the lord's disposal. Arrangements such as these were largely matters of tradition, and varied from place to place: but the Normans were introducing more uniformity and a general diffusion of Norman ways.

The church of the vill possessed then at any rate some form of local subsidy. In most cases small tithes were allocated to the church besides the various dues: in some cases it took a third of the main tithes: it probably also tithed the common fields, and in some cases it possessed as well land of its own[2]. The income then arising from these various sources is "the church's" income; and the person who, as patron or lord, can dispose of "the church," disposes of this income, subject of course to the stipulation expressed, or more commonly at this period only understood and settled by custom, that the services of the church are provided for out of it. In this way Picot placed at the disposal of the Canons of St Giles', Cambridge, nine

[1] This is noted as a Norman custom in the account of the foundation of Barnwell. *Liber Mem.* i. 4.

[2] Vinogradoff, *English Soc. in Eleventh Cent.* 373, 441, 454.

churches and three chapelries. The Canons thenceforward were to be held responsible for the cures there and were to possess "the church," *i.e.* whatever income was assigned to the priest who undertook the cure[1].

The assignment of "tithes" is less difficult to describe, when the true meaning of "tithe" is borne in mind. The baron was morally bound to allocate the tithes, whether of his own demesnes or paid to him by his knights or men, to religious or charitable objects. In a special sense they were due to the poor, who were always held to have a claim upon the tithe just as real as that of the priest, the fabric of the church, or the bishop. It was natural therefore for the tithe-holder to allocate what was in his hands to the religious orders who undertook voluntary poverty. He did so to a very large extent in this and the following centuries: and in thus allocating such "tithe" he was not, as is often supposed, taking away the pay of the village priest to give it to the monks or canons, but he was giving the portion of the poor to those who had come to poverty voluntarily under a vow rather than to those who came to it involuntarily. The village priest was already first provided for: indeed his portion is what we have already called, in the language of that day, "the church."

It was otherwise when the "church" was given to a religious corporation: for such a transaction did make the village dependent upon that corporation for the upkeep of the church services of the place. If "the church" was given to Regular

[1] This of course also included the advowson.

Canons and they themselves in return for it served the village church, according to the original idea, an ideal state of things may have supervened in which the village was better cared for than by any other plan. Canon Holmes has magnified the importance and ideal character of such cases. Indeed some such system is constantly being proposed to-day as being likely to serve the country parishes better than the present plan of having a resident parson in each one. But this ideal state of things was far from being general, and before long it became exceptional and ceased.

For it must be noted that "churches" were given in early days to other corporations than those of Regular Canons. In some of these at any rate there was no idea that the corporation would provide for the duty *per se*, but it was certain from the first that it would only provide *per alium*. The cases where "churches" are given to a monastery of monks are not necessarily of this character, for in the eleventh century monks were established in very small parties, perhaps even singly in outlying centres. In other words, monasteries acquired very small "cells": and in early assignments of a "church" to a monastery, it is sometimes evidently hoped, sometimes even it is clearly stipulated, that this shall lead to the forming of a cell and that the monks will themselves minister to the village[1]. But this could never be so in the case of a "church" given to a Nunnery: and such cases are found as early as the Conquest, at any rate in Normandy, though in this

[1] For such a stipulation see the gift of Spalding to St Nicholas, Angers (*Monast.* iii. 216), or of Buri to St Stephen, Caen, *Doc. in France*, No. 1409.

as in other respects the development is a little later in date on this side of the Channel[1].

It is therefore necessary to recognize that religious corporations did receive the dues and endowments due to the "curate" and send a chaplain or vicar to do the work, reserving to themselves whatever was over after they had paid the priest's stipend, as early as the end of the eleventh century[2]. In other words the system of appropriation had begun, not merely in the comparatively harmless form in which "tithe" was given to corporations without any detriment to the village priest or the village services, but also in the objectionable form in which the priest and church were "sweated" for the benefit of the middleman in the shape of the corporation[3].

How far did the Canons of St Giles', Cambridge, themselves serve the churches which were given to them? The geographical conditions were favour-

[1] At some date previous to 1067 there was given to the Nuns of St Amand at Rouen the church of Romara and all its tithe; but in 1067 or thereabouts a further charter in remaking this grant reserves one-third of the tithe for the priest who serves the church. *Documents in France*, No. 87.

[2] For cases at this date of such gifts to Benedictine Abbeys see William Rufus' gifts to Battle (*Mon.* iii. 246), Roger's to Shrewsbury (*ib.* 519), William de Warrenne's to his Cluniac foundation of Castleacre (*ib.* v. 49), Henry Ferrers's to Tutbury (*ib.* iii. 392), Robert Malet's to Eye (*ib.* iii. 404), &c. Even an Archbishop of York (Thomas) gives two churches to Selby (*ib.* iii. 500). The method, to be pursued in such an appropriation of a church to a monastery which did not mean to serve it, was clearly laid down for Normandy by Canon 12 of the Council of Lillebonne, 1080. Hard., *Conc.* vi. 1600. It is also added that the same method shall be observed in the case of Canons. Marmoutier had been given churches as early as *c.* 1048. *Doc. in France*, No. 1165.

[3] This did not seem objectionable to the men of the time. On the contrary, what they questioned was whether it was proper for those who had renounced the world to preach or administer the sacraments. Hence it was necessary to assert this to be proper in the Council of Nimes, 1096, cap. 5 and elsewhere.

able; and indeed, here as elsewhere, it is the proximity of the group of churches to the centre that suggests most strongly such a procedure on the part of the Canons and a corresponding intention on the part of the founder. But in view of future developments that speedily took place and made such a procedure obsolete, it must not be too readily assumed that the Canons themselves served the churches. The first foundation of Barnwell lasted ten years or so; and probably a difficult interval ensued before the refoundation by Pain Peverel. But the new arrangements followed the lines of the original foundation very closely. The new lord had received entire the barony which Picot had possessed; and in his charter he expressly gives and confirms to his Canons at Cambridge *omnes ecclesias et omnes decimas in Cantebrigesire quas Pycotus vicecomes eisdem Canonicis dedit.* The new charter follows the old *verbatim* in detailing the list of churches and tithes. But Pain Peverel gave more: he added thirteen acres lying round the springs of Barnwell in the fields of Cambridge, besides some land at Bourn.

This new gift at Barnwell possibly marks a new intention, and indicates a transition from the second to the first type of foundation. The Canons now are no longer established in St Giles': they are to have a new dwelling at Barnwell; in 1112 they solemnly moved there and a new church was begun and dedicated to St Giles and St Andrew.

The church of St Giles at Cambridge remained, and it remains still. Possibly the Canons continued to serve it. But it seems more likely that their removal, and their building of a magnificent conventual

church for themselves, indicates a desire to be free from any obligation to serve a town church. Further, if this was the case, it is probable also *a fortiori* that they were also freeing themselves from personal charge of their village churches. In other words, if ever they were a corporation of the second type, *i.e.* a corporation of priests serving a group of churches from a central house, they probably ceased to be so at this point, and became a corporation of the first type, viz. one which aimed at maintaining a corporate clerical life closely attached to a central house and church.

Some further confirmation of this view may perhaps be seen in § 19 of the History[1]. It is noted there that at Prior Geoffrey's death (1112), which followed close upon the refoundation and transference to Barnwell, Pain Peverel *sex ecclesias eo tempore vacantes, quas si vellet auferre potuit, impetrata domini Heruei Elyensis Episcopi concessione, in usus canonicorum convertit.* This apparently refers not to six fresh churches, but to six of those already given to the Canons and now left unfilled by them: and it seems to mean that the bishop allowed them to appropriate the churches instead of serving them[2].

A change such as this would be entirely in accord with what was happening elsewhere in similar cases. Foundations which were presumably in their origin of the second type were changing over to the other ideal. Before Henry I's reign was finished it would seem that Canons Regular were no longer

[1] *Liber Mem.*, p. 46.

[2] Some of these churches were lost and recovered in the last part of the century: see cap. 43 and compare the case of another church of the Canons in cap. 42.

supposed even in theory to serve the churches which were handed over to them. For that King in 1133 assigned to the abbey of Cirencester churches in Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Somersetshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire[1]. The old conception of a group of churches which could be served from one centre was entirely gone. The Canons had said to themselves, "If the monks may hold churches but put in a vicar or chaplain to serve them, why may not we do the same?" The plea also was fully recognized and allowed. When Henry I between 1115 and 1129 gave the two churches of Newcastle on Tyne and Newbourne, with the reversion of four others, to his new foundation at Carlisle, he expressly stated the conditions thus:—*ita quod clerici, qui eis deservient, habeant inde necessaria, et canonici habeant reliquum*[2]. Before long such a procedure was universal.

At what point did Barnwell become Augustinian? There is no mention of the Rule of St Augustine in the early documents. The Canons' life is described in general terms: they are *canonici regulares* and no more. This is all of a piece with the general history of the institute of Canons Regular. They began on various lines and had spread widely before there was any adoption of the Rule of St Augustine. But two tendencies made such a development desirable. There was a need of uniformity among the different houses of Canons; and there was also the need of some patron and some formula of life which would enable the Canons to hold up their heads in rivalry with the monks. They acquired both a principle of

[1] *Monast.* vi. 177.

[2] *Ibid.* vi. 144.

unity and a status comparable to the status of the sons of St Benedict when they adopted the Rule and title of St Augustine.

The stages in this development have never been fully cleared up: and it is only possible here to offer some contributions towards a fuller elucidation. If we turn to the papal documents we note that all the earliest descriptions are vague. At Goslar in 1049 there are *fratres sub canonica regula degentes*, in the church founded by Henry II and approved by Leo IX[1]. The Canons of Toul, whom the pope visited in the following year, are *fratres*, and his *carissimi filii ibidem Deo perpetuo famulantes*[2]. At Agen in the same year the pope finds a monastery *in quo ipse Aymo sub canonicorum regula abbas esse dinoscitur*. These descriptions are typical of the early vagueness.

Meanwhile various forms of custom and regulation were growing up and spreading, without exactly attaining to the dignity of a Rule. An example is to be found in the Regulations of Ivo of Chartres which governed his foundation of St Quintin's at Beauvais, and were adopted at Troyes and elsewhere[3]. Another set of regulations received papal sanction in 1090 from Urban II: they hailed from the monastery of Arrouaise established by three hermits in the diocese of Arras[4], and were very widely adopted[5].

[1] *P. L.* CXLIII. 631, 822. The foundation is probably of the first type since the Canons hold no churches.

[2] *Ibid.* 656. Perhaps here already are signs of the appropriation of churches: for part of the endowment confirmed by the pope is *medietatem ecclesie cum conductu vicarii in Totonis villa*.

[3] See Amort, *Vetus discipl. Canon.* i. 331 and ff. for various Constitutions of this era.

[4] Migne, *P. L.* CLI. 79.

[5] Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres Mon.* ii. 106.

In England they were current at Dorchester, and later at its offshoot Lilleshull, as well as at Nutley and Harwolde[1]. These foundations range from 1140—1162; but it does not follow that they had not also adopted the Rule of St Augustine; for the Arroasian Customs may have been supplementary to it, just as was the case with the customs of the more celebrated Netherland foundation of Augustinians at Premontré[2]. Some constitutions of English origin had a vogue; for we find William Giffard, bishop of Winchester, introducing at Merton the constitutions which prevailed in his foundation at Taunton (*c.* 1115). From this it would seem that there was no good Huntingdon tradition brought when Merton was colonized from that House: and presumably the like was the case with the foundation of Barnwell, fifteen years earlier, but also derived from Huntingdon.

The first signs of the revived Augustinian Rule[3], *i.e.* of the re-adoption of St Augustine's 211th (109th) Epistle as a Rule for the new set of Canons, are to be found in a charter of Gervase, Archbishop of Rheims, referring to the abbey of St Denys thus: *Canonicos ibidem ad honorem et laudem dei constitui, Beati Augustini regulam ordinemque profitentes*[4]. Signs of the Augustinian Rule appear thus early in various parts of France[5], but they are not traceable in the papal

[1] *Monast.* vi. 262, 278, 331. At Harwolde there were sisters as well as brothers.

[2] For the English Premonstratensian Houses see *Monast.* vii. 857 and ff.

[3] It had been taken as a Rule for men as early as the 8th and 9th centuries.

[4] Helyot, *ut sup.* ii. 17. Amort, i. 329. There are two documents of this Archbishop in *P. L.* CLI., but this is not to be found there.

[5] See further in Amort, *ut sup.*

documents in a marked form before the pontificate of Urban II. In 1089 he approves of what has been done by Berengar, bishop of Vich (Ausona), in restoring the abbey of St John of Rieux (Rivipullensis), and establishing *canonicos ibi secundum beati Augustini regulam*[1]. The new pope was in touch with the developments that were going forward, for he was brought up at Rheims and must have been familiar with the Canons Regular there,—if he was not actually himself one of them[2], before he became a monk at Cluny. He retained a lively interest in the institute of Canons Regular, after he became pope, was in close touch with Ivo of Chartres, and summoned Conon or Conrad, one of the hermits of Arrouaise, to Rome and made him Cardinal Bishop of Praeneste.

In 1090 a fresh mention of St Augustine appears which is rather halting: the Canons of St Antoninus *in Condacensi termino* are to observe *tam apostolica quam beatorum Hieronymi et Augustini de conversatione communiter viventium clericorum statuta*. But in 1092 a long explicit formula appears, which recurs again in later privileges, and is evidently intended to raise the estate of Canons Regular to the level of that of monks. The main features are as follows: *Vos estis qui sanctorum patrum vitam probabilem renovatis et apostolicae instituta disciplinae...suscitatis. Duo enim ab ecclesia sanctae primordiis vitae eius filiis sunt instituta*...the lower and the higher. *Haec autem quae terrenis a divino favore divertitur in duas unius paene*

[1] Migne, *P. L.* CLI. 299 from Florez, *España Sagrada*, XXVIII. 292.

[2] Ruinart in his life of Urban states that he was probably Archdeacon there. Migne, *P. L.* CLI. 15.

eiusdemque propositi dividitur portiones, canonicorum scilicet atque monachorum. Harum secunda per divinam misericordiam iam frequentia facta etiam in saeculo universo elucet; prima vero decalescente fervore fidelium iam paene omnino defluxit. Hanc martyr et pontifex Urbanus instituit, hanc Augustinus suis regulis ordinavit: hanc Hieronymus suis epistolis informavit: hanc Gregorius Augustino Anglorum archiepiscopo instituendam praecepit...[1].

The same pope's privilege for Soissons, already cited for the sake of its description of the duties of the Canons, is probably of later date, as it leaves the apologetic line and takes the Augustinian Rule for granted thus:—*Ut igitur propositi vestri ordinem secundum beati Augustini regulam commissi tibi fratres tranquille valeant...custodire &c.*[2]

Here then we have at any rate some stages of the development indicated[3]: and it can hardly be doubted that the great diffusion of the Rule of St Augustine among the Canons Regular begins at this period. But it does not seem to have reached England till later. The House at Colchester, founded 1093—1100, seems to have been the first to adopt the Rule: at least that seems to be the meaning of some rather ambiguous phrases in the privilege of Paschal II of 1116[4]. It is not easy in most cases to determine the date of the acceptance of the Rule. We chance to hear that it was in 1128 that the Canons of Ste Barbe-en-Auge (founded *c.* 1070) agreed to order themselves according to the Rule of

[1] Migne, *P. L.*, CLI. 338, 360, 535.
[2] *Ibid.* 524.
[3] For Germany, see Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, iv. 340. Buthe.
[4] *Monast.* vi. 106. *V.C.H.: Essex* ii. 148.

St Augustine[1]: but as a rule no such information as to the change is available. It does not seem to be possible to fix the date in the case of Barnwell. It has often been said that the universal prevalence of the Rule of St Augustine in all Houses of Canons Regular[2] is implied by the 6th Canon of the Council at Rheims of 1131, which was repeated as the 9th Canon of the Second Lateran Council in 1139. But this is hardly the case. These canons forbade the practice of Law and Medicine to Benedictine Monks and Augustinian Canons: and though they shew that Augustinians were now a prominent Order and were the counterpart of the monks, they do not shew more than this. We cannot therefore be sure that Barnwell had adopted the Rule of St Augustine by 1131, or 1139, but we are left in uncertainty.

It must however be remembered that the adoption of the Rule of St Augustine was a very simple matter and involved probably no change in the existing arrangements. The Rule, as compiled out of St Augustine's Letter, does not enter into details nor prescribe *minutiae*, as does the Rule of St Benedict, which is a real Rule. Every House of Canons Regular must have had its own customs to regulate daily life, services[3], government &c., as already noted above, and as known to us in this case by the Barnwell Observances[4]: there was no difficulty in

[1] *Doc. in France*, No. 569.

[2] Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres Mon.* ii. 18: Amort, i. 332, &c.

[3] A *Regula Canonicorum* directing the course of service and other points was put out by Gregory VII, and is printed in *Revue Bénédictine* (1901), xviii. 179.

[4] *The Observances in use at the Augustinian Priory of S. Giles and S. Andrew at Barnwell.* Ed. J. W. Clark, 1897.

superposing the Saint's Rule and thus gaining the prestige of being Augustinian[1].

Thus Barnwell Priory, founded in 1092, stands among the first of the Houses of Canons Regular which in process of time became Augustinian. It is probably also one which began with the object of serving a group of parish churches, but very speedily gave up that ideal and became merely a body of Canons, serving a single conventual church.

The foundation of such houses went on at a great pace through the first part of the twelfth century in England. It has already been shewn that this movement was connected with the movement in favour of celibacy. It was also influenced greatly by another great conflict of the time, in which the Church forced the laity to relax the grasp that they had acquired upon ecclesiastical and spiritual property. The Investiture controversy is one phase of this struggle. Another, which more directly bears on the present subject, is the forcing of lay lords and patrons to give up the spiritualities connected with their estates into the hands of the Church. The two Roman Councils of 1059 and 1063, which have been already cited as contributing to the development of Canons Regular, laid down also that the laity were not to retain tithes[2]. The spiritualities had become

[1] The *Regula Secunda* (*ibid.* p. 20) is not probably by St Augustine, though associated with his Rule. It is however a very early document, probably of the fifth or sixth century, as its *cursus* shews. These liturgical arrangements have a primitive flavour, and deserve fuller investigation than they have yet received. For the subject see Amort, *Vetus Disciplina Canonicorum* (1747), i. 127— .

[2] "Ut decimae et primitiae seu oblationes vivorum et mortuorum ecclesiis dei fideliter reddantur a laicis et in dispositione Episcoporum sint: quas qui tenuerit, a sanctae ecclesiae separetur communione." Harduin, *ut sup.* 1140.

so firmly established in lay hands, that tithe or a church could be treated as private property, and even given as a marriage portion to a daughter and to be left at her disposal[1].

The wresting of the spiritualities from lay hands was a long process. One may well wonder that it was accomplished at all in view of the way in which the similar alienation of spiritualities from the Church and the poor, made in various forms at the Reformation, has never to this day been redressed. But the medieval Church accomplished the recovery bit by bit through steady pressure and patient perseverance. We can trace the process in the canonical legislation of the period. At first the holding of the tithe by the layman was tolerated, provided that he disposed of it with the license of the bishop and did not himself retain it. But he might not dispose of the "church" except by way of advowson. And side by side with all these curtailings of the old customs there was of course a continuous flow of denunciations of simony[2]. At a later stage it was no longer tolerated even that tithes should be disposable by lay hands: and the laity had to surrender their hold upon them, as they had already done in the case of the churches. But that is a phase of later date than our present enquiry[3].

[1] The tithe of Beaumont belonged to Eva as her dower: she gave it to her daughter Sezilia as her marriage portion and through her it came to St Martin of Séez. *Doc. in France*, No. 663.

[2] See for good further examples Conc. Romanum, 1078, vi. viii. (Harduin, vi. 1581): Conc. Claromont. 1095, xix. xx.: Conc. Roman. 1099, xv.: for Normandy, Conc. Juliobon. 1080, iv. ix.: Conc. Rotomag. 1096, v.—viii.: and for England, Conc. Londin. 1110, xiii. The three great Lateran Councils of 1123, 1139 and 1179 carried on the struggle many further stages.

[3] See for a sketch of the later phase, Reichel, *Treasury of God* in *Archæologia*, LX. 406.

The Augustinian foundations owed much to the fact that the more obedient laity found themselves with tithes in their hands which they had to allocate, and churches for whose services they had to make provision. They therefore were not slow to hand them over to the religious orders. In the earliest days a founder may have preferred to give them to Canons, rather than to monks, because he cherished the hope that they would personally serve the churches. But this hope soon became vain: the Canons and the monks alike sent a chaplain or vicar to do the work.

It is notable that the foundations for Canons for the first half of the twelfth century far exceeded in number those for monks. But, after the early days of the Augustinian movement were over, this preference does not seem to spring any longer from any tenderness for the village churches or any hope that the Canons will serve the churches. It was due apparently to no other reason than that Canons were the fashion: and when, shortly after, the Cistercians came into favour, the Augustinians declined, and the rapid growth of their foundations was arrested.

W. H. Frere.

ANCIENT UNIVERSITY CEREMONIES

The orbits of the Registrary and the Public Orator may be said to intersect in the Senate House which is the scene of almost all our ceremonies; and the present holders of those two offices have, like their immediate predecessors, Dr Luard and Sir Richard Jebb, a common interest in the career of Bentley. It has accordingly occurred to me that the most fitting tribute that I can offer to the Registrary, on the present occasion, is a brief commentary on an annotated reprint of the Latin oration, in which the significance of certain ancient ceremonies connected with admission to the degree of Doctor was expounded by Bentley at the Cambridge Commencement of 1725.

In May, 1717, Bentley, who had been Master of Trinity for the past seventeen years, was elected Regius Professor of Divinity by four out of seven votes, one of the four being his own vote as Deputy Vice-Chancellor. In the following autumn, George I, who was then staying at Newmarket, consented to visit the University on Sunday, October the 6th. It was accordingly arranged to confer the honorary degree of Doctor of Law on no less than twenty-seven of the royal retinue, and that of Doctor of

Divinity on thirty-two of the most distinguished members of the University. On alighting from his carriage in the Regent-walk about 11 o'clock on that Sunday morning, the King was greeted with a Latin speech from the Orator of the day, Dr Ayloffe. Thereupon Dr Bentley presented to the King, who sat at the upper end of a table covered with cloth of gold in the Regent-house, three of the thirty-two recipients of the D.D. degree, and, after addressing the King in an appropriate Latin speech, proceeded to 'create' the three Doctors with all the ancient ceremonies then in use. Of Dr Bentley's speech, as well as 'the very ingenious, learned, Latin speech' of the Orator, 'the King said, he understood every word'[1]. On the Monday, when the rest of the Doctors of Divinity were to be created, Bentley refused to proceed, unless he received a fee of four guineas for each degree, besides the customary 'broad-piece'. Most of the proposed recipients protested, but Bentley's enemy, Conyers Middleton, the biographer of Cicero, paid his four guineas and received his degree, and thereupon sued Bentley for the sum in the Vice-Chancellor's Court. The writ was served on Bentley at Trinity Lodge. On October 3rd, 1718, he failed to appear, whereupon he was suspended from all his degrees by the verdict of the Vice-Chancellor's Court, and, a fortnight later, he was actually deprived of his degrees by Grace of the Senate. Six years afterwards, the four Judges of the Court of King's Bench unanimously directed

[1] Letter of Dr Wilkins to the Bishop of Carlisle, quoted in Monk's *Life of Bentley* (ed. 1833), ii 36.

the University to restore the degrees, and a Grace was passed for this purpose on March 26, being deferred to that date for the express purpose of preventing Bentley from taking part as a Doctor in the laying of the first stone of the new buildings of King's College on the previous day.

Thus it was not until the Commencement-day of 1725 that Bentley had his first opportunity of taking part in an important public ceremony after the restoration of the degrees, of which he had been deprived seven years before. He accordingly seized the occasion to make it known that he was once more in full possession of all his privileges. With this object he delivered a remarkable Latin oration, in the course of which he eloquently explained the special significance of each of the five ancient symbols of the doctoral degree, the cap, the book, the ring, the chair, and the kiss. More than this, to ensure its reaching the learned world of his day, and also to provide for its descending to posterity, he printed it in a conspicuous part of his edition of Terence (1726), immediately after his celebrated *Schediasma* on Terentian metres, and immediately before the poet's text. 'Being the only one of his Commencement-speeches which is published, we are glad to meet with it in any situation'. Such is the language used in the *Life of Bentley* by Monk, who admirably characterises the speech in the following terms:—

'This production is short and sprightly; all its topics are treated with remarkable good humour; nor is there a word which could give offence to any party, or revive the recollection of the angry feuds which had distinguished the late years

of academical history. The tone in which he rejoices at the increasing prosperity of the University, is that of a person who had never felt any thing but affection, and never experienced any but kind treatment from that body. This prosperity he attributes mainly to the patronage and munificence so liberally extended to it by the Monarch (George I): and he takes occasion to praise his daughter-in-law, the Princess of Wales, whose encouragement of learned men, and particularly of the first English Divines, constitutes a marked feature in the history of the country as long as she lived. The greater part of this short oration consists of an explanation of the origin and meaning of the several ceremonies, which by ancient custom are used in the creation of a Doctor. It is impossible not to admire his address, and occasional eloquence in giving an interest to those forms, which to the ignorant might appear barbarous or ridiculous'[1].

As there are many persons interested in the history of our University, who are not in possession of Bentley's *Terence*, the speech is here printed in full with the addition of some illustrative comments on the ceremonial therein described.

RICHARDI BENTLEII,

CUM SEPTEM IN THEOLOGIA DOCTORES CREARET,

ORATIUNCULA;

CANTABRIGIAE IN COMITIIS HABITA,
JULII VI, MDCCXXV.

D[nus] Procurator: VENERANDE PATER, AD CREATIONEM.

AD Creationem vocas? Ego vero, digniſſime Procurator, volens obtempero: eo minus gravate hoc Creandi munus obiturus, quod tot & tales hos Filios meos almae Matri Academiae ſiſto. Nam ſuperioribus quidem temporibus, prope ſumma votorum Deceſſori meo erat, ut ſingulis apud vos annis jus Trium liberorum obtinere

[1] Monk's *Bentley*, ii 228.

poſſet: Mihi vero felicitas illa perpetua obtingit, ut ſeptem pluribuſve liberis quotannis fiam auctior[1].

UNDE vero & qui factum eſt; ut antiqua Parens noſtra, quam non ita pridem quaſi ſenio defectam & effoetam moerentes adſpeximus, jam vetere ſua fecunditate denuo revireſcat? Quid tandem eſt, quod hanc nobis alumnorum frequentiam, hanc Matri noſtrae vim & juventam redintegrat? quod non modo Tironum catervas inſolita multitudine huc allicit, ſed & Veteranos noſtros accendit ad ampliſſimam apud nos dignitatem capeſſendam?

ENIMVERO, Academici, Sapientiſſimi Regis GEORGII[2], clementiae quidem & bonitati erga omnes, voluntati vero in vos & munificentiae ſingulari totum hoc acceptum refertur. ILLE hujus, quicquid & quantumcumque eſt, auctor, inceptor, perfector: ILLE pridem Bibliothecam veſtram infinita librorum copia linguiſque emortuis locupletavit[3]; nunc autem, quod unum vobis defuit, ad viventium

---

[1] The seven Doctors of the present occasion, as recorded (in alphabetical order) in the University Books at the Registry, are:—Thomas Bishop, Sidney; Benjamin Jos. Ellis, Corpus; Thomas Mangey, St John's; Matthias Mawson, Corpus; John Newcome, St John's; Robert Palmer, St John's; and Theodore Waterland, Magdalene. Of these, Mawson (1683—1770) was Master of Corpus from 1724 to 1744, Vice-Chancellor in 1730, and ultimately Bishop of Ely; while Newcome (1684—1765) was Master of St John's from 1735 to his death. Thomas Mangey, Canon of Durham, edited Philo in 1742.

[2] George I, now in the 12th year of his reign, 1714–27.

[3] The 'dutiful and loyal address' presented to George I in August, 1715, was promptly followed by an act of royal munificence. At the suggestion of Viscount Townshend, the King purchased for £6000 the library of Dr Moore, late Bishop of Ely, a collection comprising more than 30,000 volumes. Bentley was one of the Syndics appointed to arrange for the removal of the books from Ely-house, the very place in whose hall the Bishop had held the long sitting arising out of the prosecution of Bentley by the Fellows of Trinity, and had caught the fatal cold which prevented his ever pronouncing judgement on the long protracted cause. The books were housed at first in the room on the first floor of the West side of the Schools Quadrangle, then used as the Law School (Willis and Clark, *Architectural History*, iii 30). As the space was not sufficient, it was decided to add the Regent-house to the Library, and to build a new Senate-House, towards which the King gave a donation of £2000. The King's gift of Bishop Moore's library to Cambridge, followed by the despatch of a squadron of horse to seize certain Jacobite officers at Oxford, gave rise to a well-known epigram by a professor of poetry at Oxford (either Dr Trapp or Mr Warton) with an equally well-known rejoinder by Sir William Browne, the founder of the Browne medals at Cambridge (quoted, with slight variations in the first couplet of the Oxford epigram, in Mrs Piozzi's *Anecdotes of Johnson*, p. 18 of R. Napier's *Johnsoniana*; Monk's *Bentley*, i 377 f; Cooper's *Annals*, iv 141; and Willis and Clark, iii 29).

ſpirantiumque linguarum ſtudia, certiſſima praemiorum ſpe adoleſcentes invitat[1]; ILLE & devictis perduellibus[2] veniam, & capite damnatis vitam, & extorribus patriam, & rerum omnium egenis patrimonia conceſſit: ILLE omnem diſcordiarum & delictorum memoriam, perpetuo Edicto ſepultam, oblivione delevit: ILLE & foris potentiae gloriaeque Britannorum, & domi opulentiae ſecuritatique proſpicit.

QUOQUE magis haec nobis Bona perpetua propriaque fore ſperemus; ILLE etiam FILIUM[3] Imperio largitur, olim & matura aetate ſibi ſucceſſurum, ſolique jam nunc Patri ſecundum; innato ſibi Honeſto Britannis amabilem, noſtraeque invicem Gentis amantiſſimum: Vigorem animi in vultu atque oculis, Civilitatem non fictam in toto habitu geſtuque praeferentem.

NEQUE Filium modo Rex beatiſſimus, ſed & NURUM[4]; omnibus animi ingeniique dotibus inſtructam: quodque in illo Faſtigio rariſſimum eſt, nulla non doctrina excultam: quae, quod ex animo Deum colat, etiam Miniſtros ejus & Sacerdotes honore proſequitur: quam, quicquid agit, quodcumque loquitur, quoquo incedit, Decor & Suadela Majeſtaſque comitantur[5].

ILLE denique, quo non praeſenti modo aetati ſed & venienti conſultum, NEPOTES[6] quoque NEPTESque Britanniae impertit: mirificae omnes laetiſſimaeque indolis: quos ipſe Genius, quas ipſae Gratiae, ad ſumma omnia quaſi manibus finxiſſe ac formaviſſe videantur.

Hoc Liberorum Virtutumque comitatu cinctus Rex Auguſtiſſimus, quid mirum ſi Matri noſtrae Academiae felicia tempora candidoſque ſoles reſtituit? Jam Pax & Otium & Honos; jam ingenuae juvenum artes, ac fortiora demum & virilia ſtudia, Domicilium hoc ſibi olim notum & aſſuetum reviſunt. His auſpiciis reverendi hi Viri, hac blanda tempeſtate inducti, jam ſpretis

---

[1] On 16 May 1724 Lord Townshend informed the University of the King's intention to found a Professorship of Modern History at Cambridge, as well as at Oxford, at a stipend of £400 per annum. The Professor was 'to maintain with sufficient salaries...two persons at least, well qualified to teach and instruct in writing and speaking' *modern languages* (Cooper's *Annals*, iv 183).

[2] The Jacobite rebels of 1715.

[3] George, Prince of Wales, afterwards George II in 1727–60.

[4] Charlotte Caroline of Brandenburg-Anspach, afterwards Queen, who, in early life, had become acquainted with Leibnitz.

[5] Cp. Tibullus, iii 8 (= iv 2), 7 f, 'illam, quidquid agit, quoquo vestigia movit, | componit furtim subsequiturque decor'.

[6] Including Frederick Louis (1705–51), subsequently Prince of Wales, whose portrait forms the frontispiece of Bentley's *Terence*.

inferioribus ſubſelliis ad ſupremum in Theologia gradum ſtrenue enituntur.

Vos vero, Filii dilectiſſimi, macti iſta virtute atque ingenio eſtote[1]. Vos Academia lubens in hunc Doctorum ordinem cooptat; ac Purpuratorum ſuorum decus renaſci ſibi & refloreſcere laeta contemplatur. Quae vero vobis Bona dividat Mater amantiſſima? quibuſve demum muneribus ſuos filios proſequatur? Non certe pecunia, non reditibus & fundis: hos voſmet a Rege Optimo, hos ab Optimatibus, hos a Praeſulibus, veſtro merito quandoque conſequemini. Ipſa, quod probe ſcitis, in rebus iſtis paupercula eſt. Quod vero habet, melius id profecto ac majus, jamdudum vobis dedit & inſevit; bonam mentem, eloquentiam, doctrinam, humanitatem. Ne tamen vos & hodie prorſus indonatos dimittat; his ſuis Inſignibus de more veteri deductis cohoneſtat: quae vos non pretio quaſi venalia, ſed ſuo pondere & ex priſca dignitate metiemini.

Ac primo quidem vos *Pileo* donat, Libertatis quondam ſymbolo[2]: quo vos, opinor, hunc Gradum ſemel aſſecutos, poſt ab omnibus apud ſe Scholaſticis exercitiis liberos & immunes conſtituit. Nec tamen vos deinceps otioſos ac deſides fore arbitratur. Quippe, ut olim qui nudo capite domi ac in urbe verſabantur[3], ad iter tamen accincti Pileo ſibi caput aut Petaſo vel Galero muniebant: ita vos hoc ſuo pignore commonitos eſſe cupit; ut jam Pileo inſtructi, continuo magis arduum iter ac laborioſum inceptetis. Non jam amplius vobis, in hac umbra Scholarum, ſed in ſole ac pulvere[4], in vera juſtaque acie ſub dio eſt militandum: jam cum hoſtibus Eccleſiae undecumque incurſantibus, qua concionibus habendis, qua libris edendis, acerrime confligendum. Quin & illud vobis inculcat: ſicut in Nummis veteribus Ulixei & Mercurii ac Vulcani effigies, Pileatae

---

[1] Cp. Curtius iv 1, 18, 'macti virtute estote'; and Pliny, *N. H.* ii 54, 'macti ingenio este'.

[2] The *pileus*, *pilleus* or *pilleum*, originally a felt cap, was worn by the slave on his enfranchisement, as a sign of freedom; hence *pilleum capere* 'to gain freedom' (Plautus, *Amph.* 462).

[3] 'Among the Greeks and Romans of the classical period it was most unfashionable to wear anything, except perhaps a helmet, when out of doors, at any rate in a town' (W. F. C. Anderson; in Smith's *Dict. Ant.* ii 426 *b*). This classic custom has recently been revived by some of the junior members of the University of Cambridge.

[4] Cicero, *De Legibus*, iii 14, 'doctrinam ex umbraculis eruditorum in solem atque pulverem produxit'; *Brutus*, 37, 'in solem et pulverem..e Theophrasti.. umbraculis'.

plerumque vel Petaſatae ſpectantur[1]; ita vos in ſermonibus ſcriptiſque veſtris & Ulixei facundiam, & Mercurii acumen, & Vulcani artificem operam exprimere oportere *.

Sed & altero vos dono beat Mater Academia, potiore cunctis Perſarum Arabumve divitiis. Videtis hunc *Codicem Sacrum*, melioris vitae ducem & magiſtrum, immortalitatis obſidem, ſalutis ſponſorem. Hoc vos libro impertit, & primo quidem *Clauſo :* quo velut ſigno vobis indicat, arcana dei myſteria cunctoſque ſapientiae theſauros hic haberi reconditos; non illotis, quod aiunt, manibus tractandos[2], non indocto cuivis & profano temere committendos †. Vobis vero, quos cum eruditione, tum moribus agnoſcit idoneos, etiam *Apertum* concredit: unde & vobiſmet ipſi lucidum veri fontem vivoſque latices hauriatis, & auditorum veſtrorum animos puro ac ſalubri rore caeleſtis doctrinae irrigetis ‡.

Neque vero vel hic clauditur munificae Matris liberalitas. Nam & *Anulo* vos dignatur, & eo quidem *Aureo*; tam libertatis jam veſtrae quam auctoritatis indicio. Quippe ut olim jus Anuli Aurei Senatoribus primum ſolis, mox autem & Equitibus, poſtremo (labante publica diſciplina) cuivis Ingenuo Liberove, numquam vero Servis conceſſum eſt[3]; ita vos hodie ſuo Mater hoc pignore, ſi minus in Senatoriam dignitatem (hanc ſolius Regis beneficio ſuo quiſque tempore nanciſcamini) at in Ingenuitatem certe Libertatemque

* *Hic ſingulis Pileus imponitur.*
† *Hic ſingulis Clauſus datur liber.*
‡ *Hic Apertus.*

---

[1] In works of art the cap is worn by Hephaestus as a craftsman, and by Odysseus as a seafarer, while the *petasus* is a constant attribute of Hermes, as on the coin of Pheneos, in which Hermes is carrying the infant Arkas (reproduced in Roscher's *Lex. Myth.* s.v. Hermes, p. 2413).

[2] Plautus, *Poenulus*, i 1, 103 (316), 'inlutis manibus tractes'.

[3] *Senatoribus*, Livy xxvi 36, 5; the *nobiles* laid aside their *anuli aurei* as a sign of mourning, Livy, ix 7, 8; 46, 12. *Equitibus*, Livy, xxiii 12, 2; Horace, *Sat.* ii 7, 53; *ius anulorum = dignitas equestris*, Suet. *Caesar*, 53; Augustus granted the right of wearing it to all physicians, Dio Cassius, liii 30. *Libertis*, Tac. *Hist.* i 13, Suet. *Vit.* 12, *Galba*, 14; in Petronius, 32, the vulgar freedman Trimalchio wore a large gilded ring to give the impression of *ingenuitas*; Macrob. vii 13, 12, 'ius anulorum famuli non habebant'; Papin. *Vat.* 226, 'ius anulorum ingenuitatis imaginem praestat'; and Lucas de Penna, *Super tres libros Codicis*, viz. x, xi, xii, fol. lxxiiii–v (1509), where there is a note on *Cod.* x, xxxiii (on the right of freedmen to wear the gold ring), discussing the use of the ring in betrothals, contracts and clerical investitures. Cp. Plin. *N. H.* xxxiii 11, 18, 21, 29—33, and Mayor on Juv. vii 89; also F. H. Marshall's *Catalogue of Finger Rings in the British Museum* (1907), pp. xviii—xxi, on 'rings as a mark of dignity'.

afferit. Jam manum ferulae fubducitis[1]: jam magiftrorum dictata tuto negligitis: non diutius veftrum eft, ftantes difcere, fed ex cathedra docere. Quin & aliis nominibus hoc fuum munufculum ornat & commendat. Hic vobis Anulus more veteri *Natalitius* habeatur: hodie enim Doctores nafcimini. Hic dies vobis deinceps quafi Natalis numerabitur; tanto illi alteri honore anteponendus, quanto majus eft Doctores, quam Infantes nafci. Porro idem hic Anulus etiam *Pronubus*[2] vobis efto. Quippe hoc velut arrabone[3], jam Mater Academia filiarum fuarum natu maximam Theologiam in matrimonium vobis collocat: quam five dote exigua, feu (quod auguror atque opto) luculente dotatam inveneritis; numquam cum illa facietis divortium: uxorem eam vobis, matronam, dominam, cafte femper & honorifice habebitis. Quin & ipfe Ego, more majorum, cum anulum meum vobis trado; *Heredem* hujus Cathedrae meae de vobis aliquem, fi non dedignamini, libens inftituo*.

Sed quid ego de Me, tamquam olim de vobis quempiam Heredem *Cathedrae* relicturo? Ipfa Mater Academia jubet & inftituit, ut jam nunc in ifta fede vos fingulos collocem. Videtis, ut prima fpecie adblandiatur? ut fefforem callide fubdoleque invitet? mollicula pluma tumens, & opere textili fuperbiens. Ea vero, fi expertis creditis, quovis fcamno durior eft ac moleftior; quovis ftadio & curriculo exercitatior. Atque hoc vos fymbolo Mater admonet; ne nunc, quafi ftudiis omnibus curifque defuncti, *ceffatum* aliquo vel *feffitatum* abeatis: fed ut quam primum in hac Sella paulifper confederitis, ad labores novos experiendos alacriores furgatis: atque eo quidem omine, ut tandem aliquando vel hanc ipfam, me decedente, Cathedram occupetis;[4] vel quod lautius eft & optabilius,

* *Hic minimo fingulorum digito Anulus imponitur.*

[1] Juvenal, i 15, 'et nos ergo manum ferulae subduximus'. As observed by Prof. Mayor, in *Cambridge under Queen Anne*, 327 n., "Bentley has mistaken the meaning of this phrase; which is 'to flinch from the cane'."

[2] Tertullian, *Apol.* 6, 'cum aurum nulla norat, praeter unico digito, quem sponsus oppignerasset pronubo anulo'.

[3] Plautus, *Miles*, 957, 'hunc anulum arrhabonem amoris...a me accipe'. It was in fact an 'engagement ring'.

[4] It is interesting to notice that, in the previous context, Bentley begins by proposing to nominate one of the seven Doctors as 'heir' to his professorship; but he immediately afterwards suggests that this may only take effect at some future date, *olim*, and he makes this date still more distant by adding *tandem aliquando*. Bentley never resigned the Regius Professorship, and not one of the seven actually succeeded him on his death in 1742, but Newcome became

Decanalem aliquam aut Epiſcopalem; vel, ſi ne hic quidem conſiſtitis, Archiepiſcopalem denique, jam non Cathedram ſed Thronum, aſcendatis*.

Numquid aliud eſt quod reſtat, an jam valere vobis dictura eſt Academia? Immo vero, quo nulla non gratia ſuos Filios demereatur, etiam *Oſculo* vos per me excipit; non Suavio quod voluptatis eſt, ſed Oſculo quod religionis; Oſculo caritatis[1], Oſculo ſancto[2], Oſculo in Domino Jeſu: quale priſco Eccleſiae ritu, cum ſuper Cenam Dominicam, tum die Paſchatis feſto, tum in Ordinationibus Sacris, pie olim & pudice dabatur ac reddebatur[3]. Hoc vobis oſculo bona Mater *impetratae veniae* fidem facit, ſiquid olim in Statuta ſua juniores & rerum imperiti forte peccaviſtis. Hoc itidem oſculum *Benevolentiae* ſuae pignus, hoc & *Cognationis* teſſeram[4] vobiſcum auferetis: ut, ubicumque terrarum gentiumve fueritis, hanc Matrem veſtram ſemper caram, ſemper honoratam habeatis: & ab Ipſa viciſſim, quandocumque in rem veſtram fuerit, conſilium, auxilium jure veſtro efflagitetis†.

Jamque, niſi animi fallor, Viri Academici, rite facta ac tranſacta ſunt omnia. Vos vero, Filii cariſſimi, ſollemnibus jam verbis compello: & *Auctoritate mihi commiſſa, creo, ſaluto, pronuntio vos omnes, Profeſſores, Doctores in Sacra Theologia*[5].

The occasion of the above speech was, as we have seen, the Cambridge Commencement of July 6, 1725. The scene was doubtless the interior of Great

* *Hic ſinguli in Cathedra collocantur.*
† *Hic ſinguli Oſculo excipiuntur.*

Lady Margaret Professor in 1727, and, as at that time (says Cole) 'the regius professor, the great Dr Ric. Bentley, was withdrawing himself from all public business, the duty of the chair devolved on him' (Baker-Mayor, *History of St John's College*, p. 1023). Newcome also became Dean of Rochester in 1744, while Mawson was successively Bishop of Llandaff, Chichester and Ely (1738–70).

[1] *ἐν φιλήματι ἀγάπης*, 1 Pet. v 14.

[2] *ἐν φιλήματι ἁγίῳ*, *in osculo sancto*, Rom. xvi 16 etc.

[3] 'Osculum non solius Communionis, sed et omnium Ecclesiasticarum functionum signaculum et sigillum, quod in omnibus Sacramentis adhiberi solebat', Bona, *Rer. Liturg.* II xvi 7. The kiss was, however, omitted on Good Friday, 'die Paschae...merito deponimus osculum' (Tertullian, *de Orat.* c. 18).

[4] Cp. the *ius osculi*, the right of near relations, in Suetonius, *Claudius*, 26.

[5] Reprinted in Bentley's *Works*, ed. Dyce, iii (1838), 539—546.

St Mary's, then known as 'the parish church of S. Mary by the Market'[1]. On such occasions the church 'was fitted up with stages, like a theatre, for the chancellor, noblemen, and heads, for the doctors of the different faculties,...with places for the proctors, father, praevaricator, philosopher, and other actors in the proceedings of the day'[2]. The foundation of the 'new Commencement House', our present Senate House, had been laid in 1722, and the internal panel-work was on the point of being begun[3]. The House was opened at the Public Commencement of 6 July, 1730, when Bentley once more appeared as Regius Professor of Divinity, 'moderating and opposing for several hours at the Theological exercises, which were on this occasion performed in the Senate-house to indulge the public curiosity'[4]. It was the first occasion on which the Senate House was used for the full ceremonial of a 'Public Commencement'. It was also the last; for a Grace for dispensing with the solemnities of a 'Public Commencement' was subsequently passed in each year'[5].

It was held by the canonists that the conferring of the *insignia doctoralia* was essential to the validity of a doctor's degree, and they were accordingly conferred, with little variation of form, in every University of Europe[6]. I here add a few examples.

BOLOGNA. At Bologna the ceremonial of the *Conventus*, or Public Examination, which made the

[1] Willis and Clark, iii 35.
[2] Peacock's *Observations on the Statutes* (1841), Appendix A, p. xxv n.
[3] Willis and Clark, iii 47.
[4] Monk's *Bentley*, ii 294.
[5] Gunning's *Ceremonies*, 117.
[6] Peacock, *l.c.*, p. xl n.

Licentiate in Law a full Doctor, was held in the Cathedral. After taking part in a disputation, the Licentiate was authorised to teach, and was invested by the Promotor with the *insignia* of the office of teacher or *Doctor*. He was installed in the *cathedra*; was handed an open text-book of Law; a gold ring was placed upon his finger; the *biretta* was set upon his head; after which the Promotor left him with a paternal embrace, a kiss and a benediction[1].

By a statute of 1410, no physician was allowed to wear the doctor's velvet cap, or any other *insignia doctoratus*, in the city of Bologna, unless he had been publicly admitted to the degree[2].

Florence. In a document of 1433, published with the Statutes of the University of Florence, the Archbishop requires the University to confer on its Rector (who has duly passed the Private and Public Examination in Law) the *insignia doctoratus*:

> 'Primo, videlicet libros clausos et opertos, scilicet Decretales et Codicem utroque sacratissima Iura continentes; ac anulum aureum in signum desponsationis utriusque scientie, canonice scilicet et civilis; deinde birretum, in signum glorie et corone iustitie, capiti suo imponi, et cum paterna benedictione conferri pacis osculum consuetum; in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, amen'[3].

Early in 1530 Charles V made all the Doctors of the College of Law at Bologna *equites aurati* and 'counts palatine', and gave the College the right of conferring actual knighthood on all Doctors whom they deemed worthy of that distinction[4].

[1] Rashdall, i 229 f.

[2] Malagola's *Statuti* (Bologna, 1888), p. 520.

[3] Gherardi-Morelli, *Statuti della Università e Studio Fiorentino* (ed. 1881), p. 439.

[4] Malagola's *Statuti*, Pref. p. xiv.

VALLADOLID AND ALCALÀ. In the ceremonial prescribed at Valladolid, the new Doctor kisses the Chancellor and every Doctor present, while at Alcalà the ceremony includes investiture with gloves, a golden cincture and golden spurs, and finally with the sword[1]. The ceremony of the chair, the cap, and the book was in use at COIMBRA in 1653, and is still retained at that University, and at MADRID[2].

PARIS. Corresponding to the *Conventus* of Bologna we have the *Principium* or *Inceptio* of Paris, to which Oxford owes its *Inception* and Cambridge its *Commencement*. In Paris the new Master had a cap placed on his head as a symbol of emancipation, and also as a badge of his right to teach with 'his head covered'. He next received the other *insignia* of office 'from his former Master, who further conferred upon him a kiss and a benediction. Then seated in the Magisterial *Cathedra*, he gave an exhibition of his professorial capacity by delivering an inaugural lecture or holding an inaugural disputation'[3].

OXFORD. At Oxford the ceremony of Inception —'the tradition of the book and the ring, and the imposition of the *biretta* with the kiss of fellowship' —was performed as at Paris by a Regent of the Faculty[4].

At ERFURT the ceremony was in use in the

[1] Rashdall, i 230 n.

[2] See pp. 8, 42 f, 45 f, of Prof. D. J. Cunningham's *Evolution of the Graduation Ceremony*, 51 pp. 4to (Blackwood, Edinburgh and London, 1904).

[3] Rashdall, i 287.

[4] *ib.* ii 445, with the *Laudian Statutes*, pp. 72–4, there quoted.

fifteenth century; but it is now obsolete in all the German Universities[1].

Strassburg, 1574. This is the date of the publication of the *Oratio de honoribus academicis et eorum gradibus*, by Valentin Erythraeus (1521—1576), who, after spending the greater part of his life at the University of Strassburg became Rector of Altdorf in 1573. His *Oratio* sets forth the details of the ceremony of graduation and explains the allegorical significance of the chair, the book, the cap, and the ring. It is less lively and vigorous in style than the discourse delivered by Bentley on the same topics a century and a half later[2].

Cambridge, 1574. So far as I can ascertain, the earliest extant record of the Cambridge ceremony is to be found in the manuscript book drawn up in 1574 by Matthew Stokys, Fellow of King's and successively Esquire Bedell and Registrary, and brother of John Stokys, of King's, the Public Orator of 1557–9. This book was entrusted to the care of successive Vice-Chancellors, and was said to be lost[3]. In the meantime, however, Richard Farmer, then 'Fellow and Pupil-monger of Emmanuel College', sent it to his friend William Cole, who 'determined, in a slight Fit of the Gout, to transcribe the whole of it, that in case of any accident of the Original being lost or destroyed, a faithful copy of it may be met with'. It now forms part of the Cole MSS in the

[1] Kaufmann, *Die Geschichte der deutschen Universitäten*, ii (1896) 293, 322.

[2] There is a full account of the substance of the *Oratio* of Erythraeus in Prof. D. J. Cunningham's *Evolution of the Graduation Ceremony*, pp. 29—31.

[3] This is stated by Dean Peacock, but it is now in the Registry, where I have examined it with the kind aid of the present Registrary, who showed that it was in the Registry in Romilly's time.

British Museum (vol. xliv, p. 353 f). The following is taken from the description of 'the Commensment in Divinitie', and has been verified in the original MS at the Registry.

'After the Actys in Gramer, Art, Musyke, Physyke, Cyvyll, Canon, shall begyn the Acte in Dyvynitye...Then shall the Proctour say, *Domine Doctor*, *incipiatis*. Then shall the Father say...*Trado tibi Insignia Doctoralia. Primo vero*[1] *Cathedram et Locum Doctoralem.* 2° *in Loco Pilium Capiti tuo Ornamentum.* 3° *in Loco trado tibi*, *Fili mi*, *Librum Clausum et Apertum.* 4° *in Loco trado tibi Anulum Desponsationis tue cum Christo*, *et ejus Ecclesie Defensione*, *et Christiane Fidei edificatione.* 5° *in Loco trado tibi Osculum Pacis. In nomine Patris*, *et Filii*, *et Spiritus Sancti. Amen*'[2].

Only two years previously, in 1572, we find the Proctors and others, in objecting to the New Statutes of Queen Elizabeth, urging that, under them, 'the order at the Commencement' is made 'worse than before' by giving the Act for Divinity precedence over the Acts for Law and Physic, instead of reserving 'to the last place suche matters as seeme most glorious and maketh the bravest show'...'And this Decorum was so muche the rather to be observed at our Commencements, for that the greatest parte of them which come to yt, do understande little or nothinge, but are onelie delited with the solempnitie and showe of the matter'[3].

1631. In 1631 James Duport, the future Greek Professor and Master of Magdalene, then a junior M.A., in the course of the Latin poem which forms

[1] *v°* (i.e. *vero*) in the MS, not *Loco*, as copied by Peacock from Cole. Item 2 was accidentally omitted in the MS but added in the margin before the book was bound.

[2] Folio 15 *b* of the original MS. Printed in Peacock, *l.c.*, App. A, p. xxxix f.

[3] Lamb's *Documents* (1838), p. 375.

part of his speech as *Praevaricator* at the Commencement, refers to the ring in the line *Aureus Annulus est Doctori*[1].

1665. The next evidence comes from the 'Book relating to the Ceremonials of the University' drawn up by John Buck, Esquire Bedell, in 1665, a transcript of which was lent by the Master of Peterhouse to Cole who made the extracts preserved in the Cole MSS in the British Museum (vol. xlii 201 f). The original is, however, still in existence. It now belongs to Queens' College, and there is a transcript (which I have seen) in the possession of the present Registrary. Among the ceremonies *In Die Comitiorum* we find:

> 'All being placed, the Moderator beginneth with a Prayer, and a short Speech: which being ended, The Father in Divinity maketh a Speech; & when that is done, the Proctor saith, *Honorande Pater*, *ad Creationem*: Wherein a Cap, a Book, a Ring, a Chair and a Kiss are used'[2].

Oxford, 1669. In 1669, during the *Encaenia* held in the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford on 10 July, 'Dr Wallis, the Mathematical Professor, made his oration, and created one Doctor of Music according to the usual ceremonies of gown (which was of white damask), cap, ring, kiss, &c.'[3]

At Frankfurt, in 1674, J. C. Itterus published a treatise *De honoribus sive gradibus Academicis*, which attained a second edition in 1697, defending the ancient ceremony and urging *inter alia* the symbolic significance of the doctor's cap.

[1] Text published from a Caius Coll. MS in Chr. Wordsworth's *Scholae Academicae*, 275.

[2] Peacock, p. lxxxiv; p. 51 f of the Registrary's transcript.

[3] Evelyn's *Diary*, 10 July, 1669.

At Montpellier, in 1675, Locke was present at the graduation ceremony, and described in his Diary the use of the ring and the giving of the kiss[1].

Cambridge, 1702. In 1702 Franz Burman (1671—1719), brother of the celebrated Pieter Burman, visited Cambridge and made the following entry in his Diary:

'*July* 18. *a.m.* I witnessed the celebration of the university solemnities. The vicechancellor sat on an elevated seat: the proctor presented to him those who were to receive doctors' degrees. Next the professors of Theology, law and medicine, inaugurated by an introductory speech the doctors in their several faculties, setting a cap on their heads and handing them a book and ring'[2].

Edinburgh, 1709. In 1709, when the Dissenting Divine, Edmund Calamy *tertius* (1671—1732), received the degree of D.D. at the *Commencement* in Edinburgh, the same ceremonies were in use. They are described by one of the new graduates in a letter addressed to Mr John Dunton.

'I went along with Mr Calamy into the upper-hall, or gallery, wherein the principal, Mr Carstairs, the professors, and all the members of their Society, were present; where they invested us with proper habits; and, cushions being laid for us, the Principal prayed over us in elegant Latin, and then proceeded to the ceremony of Laureation, pronouncing the known form of words, *Ego eadem potestate quâ instituta fuit haec Alma nostra Academia à Jacobo Sexto, &c.*, making and declaring us Masters of Arts, and putting the *Pileus* on our heads[3]. Mr Calamy was made Master of Arts along with me, in the first place, in regard that Degree was

---

[1] Quoted by Prof. Cunningham from Dr John Brown's *Essay on Locke and Sydenham*, p. 46.

[2] Mayor's *Cambridge under Queen Anne* (printed 1870; not yet published), p. 115 f.

[3] The ceremony still known as the 'capping' in all the Universities of Scotland.

necessary as a footstool for the Doctoral, Degrees academical not being conferred *per saltum*.

Mr Calamy was then invested with a Doctor's gown, and placed in the chair, out of which he rose, while another prayer (as I remember) was made in Latin by Principal Carstairs, who, in the next place, pronounced the common form of words, *Ego potestate qua instituta fuit haec Alma nostra Academia à Jacobo Sexto beatae memoriae, te Edmundum Calamy Doctorem &c.* Putting the Doctor's *Pileus* upon his head, and embracing him, the ceremony ended'[1].

CAMBRIDGE, 1798. Adam Wall, Fellow of Christ's, in his *Account of the different Ceremonies observed in the Senate House* (1798), thus describes the proceedings on Commencement Day:

'The doctors in all faculties, and the masters of arts, are created by their respective fathers. The bell rings at nine o'clock. The noblemen are in their proper habits: the doctors in scarlet gowns. When the professors are in readiness, a bedel directs the commencing doctors in divinity to put on their copes, and the doctors in law and physic their robes...When the commencing doctors are arranged according to the seniority given them by the professor, he takes the chair, and the two proctors take their places at their table, sitting with their caps on. The senior proctor, taking off his cap, says, *Venerande pater ad creationem*. The professor makes his speech...Towards the close of the speeches of the professors, they introduce the ceremonies of giving their sons the book, &c. The book delivered by the professor of divinity is the Greek Testament: that delivered by the professor of law is Justinian's Institutes: that by the professor of physic is Hippocrates his Aphorisms' (pp. 77—79).

1828. A similar account is given in Gunning's *Ceremonies of the University* (1828), pp. 120—125,

[1] The Life and errors of John Dunton, ed. 1818, *Narrative of the Scotch Commencement*, p. 678. In Dunton's own 'poem' on this occasion we have the couplet:

'*Carstairs* himself did place learn'd Calamy
I' th' Gown and Chair of Doctoral dignity'.

This account of the ancient ceremony at Edinburgh does not happen to be mentioned in Prof. Cunningham's admirable Edinburgh monograph, where the Cambridge ceremonies and Bentley's Speech are also omitted.

extracts from which are quoted in Rashdall's *Universities*, ii 762 f, 'as an illustration of one of the last survivals in Europe of the ancient *Inceptio* or *Principium*'.

1841. The ceremonies connected with the conferring of the *insignia doctoralia* are described in Dean Peacock's *Observations on the Statutes of the University of Cambridge* (1841), as constituting 'almost the only remnants of ancient academical custom which have remained unaltered to the present day' (App. A, p. xl n.).

1858. More than fifty years ago, being then a boy of fourteen, during a visit to an elder brother at Corpus, I was admitted to the galleries of the Senate-House, and there had the satisfaction of seeing the 'gold ring' actually used at the conferring of a doctor's degree. The Senior Esquire Bedell on that occasion was Mr George Leapingwell, of Corpus, who held office from 1826 to 1863; and I remember distinctly that the recipient of the degree seemed rather reluctant to part with the ring, and that the Bedell had to prompt him persistently to return it. I have repeatedly mentioned this incident to members of the University far older than myself, but they have no recollection of having ever seen such a ceremony. I have therefore thought it right to put this fact on record as almost certainly the very latest occasion on which the sole surviving portion of this ancient ceremony was observed in Cambridge.

On 25 November, 1858, in the term immediately following my visit, it was provided by Grace of the Senate 'that persons who have not yet com-

pleted their degrees by Creation, may be created without personal attendance at the *Magna Comitia* of 1859 or any subsequent year, on application being made to the Registrary for that purpose'[1]. Without personal attendance, the ancient ceremony of the ring, &c., was obviously impossible.

On 9 November, 1908, a Report of the Council of the Senate, on Procedure at the Creation of Doctors and Masters, states that 'the present procedure depends for the most part upon custom introduced at or after' 25 November, 1858. 'Very little of the ancient ceremonial survives'...

> 'The Professors and others who create are now compelled to take advantage of any interval in the Congregation at which Creation occurs; or even to wait till the end, when their list is read to an audience who do not understand what is being done, and are often leaving the Senate House while the Professor is still speaking.'

'The Council are of opinion that the act of Creation should be retained, but in a modified form; and that the list of those created should be published in the *Reporter*.' They recommend that the lists be prepared by the Registrary, and signed by the persons responsible, who shall subscribe a declaration including the phrase, *Auctoritate mihi commissa hos omnes... creo et pronuntio Doctores*...'[2]. On this *formula* I may be permitted to remark that, so long as the declaration was made *viva voce*, *pronuntio* was obviously the correct term, and Bentley would probably have been surprised to see its use extended from an oral to a

[1] *Ordinances*, ed. 1908, p. 273.
[2] *Cambridge University Reporter*, 10 Nov. 1908, p. 200 f.

written statement. *Adeo desciveramus a consuetudine parentum*[1].

I may add that, among the *insignia* of office still handed down by each successive Vice-Chancellor, there are two signet-rings. The larger of these bears the arms of the University, while the smaller represents Minerva with helmet, shield and spear, and with the motto SI PERDAM PEREO, and, on the inner side, *My only rest*. The smaller ring may possibly have been used for the ceremonial purpose above described.

The ring and the book are still retained at Prague[2], and similarly at Coimbra and Madrid. The cap, the ring and the chair are in use at the Catholic University of Louvain[3], while in Rome the *Sapienza* abandoned in 1870 the ritual which remains unchanged in the Papal University[4]. The ring alone is preserved in Bologna and in Padua[5]. In the Universities of Sweden the graduands in all the Faculties receive a golden ring; those in Law and Medicine put on a black hat of silk with a golden buckle; those in Philosophy are crowned with a wreath of laurel[6]. In the Universities of Scotland degrees are still conferred by 'the magic touch of the velvet cap'[7]. In Oxford it is the custom for the Vice-Chancellor, when he admits the recipient of a degree, to touch him on the head with a copy of the New Testament[8].

[1] Pliny, *Epp.* iii 20, 4. [2] Cunningham, *l. c.*, p. 34. [3] *ib.* pp. 20, 36.
[4] Cunningham, pp. 19, 35 f. [5] *ib.* p. 20.
[6] *ib.* p. 39. [7] *ib.* p. 5.
[8] J. Wells, *The Oxford Degree Ceremony* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1906), p. 15.

While the ceremonies connected with the conferring of the *insignia doctoralia* have now vanished in our own, as well as in many other Universities, there is one that still survives as the unique ceremonial distinction of Cambridge among the Universities of Europe. I refer to the use of the 'cope' by the Vice-Chancellor and by the Regius Professors of Divinity, Law, and Medicine, when they are engaged in presenting for Degrees.

'If the antiquary' (says Dr Rashdall) 'wants to see a true medieval *cappa*, he must go to Cambridge upon a degree-day. There he will find the presiding Vice-Chancellor and the Professors who present for degrees in the Superior Faculties arrayed in a garment which exactly resembles a fourteenth-century miniature of the Chancellor contained in the precious "Chancellor's book" of Oxford[1]. It is a sleeveless scarlet cloak lined with minever, with a tippet and hood of the same material fastened thereto'[2]. Its mediaeval counterpart may be seen in the marble monuments of the Doctors of Bologna[3].

'The old order changeth'. The golden ring is no longer our bond of union with the Universities of Europe; and the Academic use of the mediaeval cope has survived in Cambridge alone. But, happily, there are other bonds, of a less transient type, which are constantly recalled, whenever the Orator indites an Address congratulating some seat of learning, whether far or near, on the attainment of its first Jubilee, or of its first or second or third or fourth or

[1] Reproduced in *The Oxford Degree Ceremony*, by J. Wells (1906), facing p. 19.

[2] Rashdall's *Universities* (1895), ii 643.

[3] *ib.* i 196 n.

fifth Centenary, and whenever the Registrary affixes the Seal to such an Address in the immediate presence of the Vice-Chancellor. And those bonds of union prove no less permanent, whenever the Delegates from the Universities of the world meet, in perfect impartiality, to do honour to a Calvin at Geneva, or to a Grand-Inquisitor of Spain at Oviedo; or to commemorate the far-seeing beneficence of a Bodley at Oxford; or the intellectual eminence of some son of Cambridge, at the Jubilee of a Stokes or a Kelvin, or at the Centenary of a Darwin.

The ceremonial symbols of the ring and the robe *imbecilla ac mortalia sunt: forma mentis aeterna.*

J. E. SANDYS.

THE CASTLE HILL

My dear J.

Do you remember how, about the year 1893, the Cambridge Antiquarian Society had one of its recurring attacks of torpidity and you were called in, not for the first time, to prescribe for the congested Editorial parlour. Well, it so happened that, in the pursuit of my vocation, I had just been re-examining the structure of the Castle Hill and had realised that most of the difficulties which had presented themselves to different observers arose from a want of recognition of the manner in which artificial operations had modified the original natural features. There, on the Mound, was chalk ; if this was a natural mound how could the occurrence of chalk be explained ? If it was artificial, where was the chalk carried from ? This led me to look into the history of the Castle Hill and I put my notes together and offered them to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society (*Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.* Vol. VIII. p. 173). To my great profit and pleasure this coincided with your tenure of office as Editor. I proposed that you should be appointed permanent

Editor, but, notwithstanding all considerations of the influence and power you would derive from it, of what it might lead to, etc., etc., you declined; and now, as you know more about the history of Old Cambridge than anybody else, although you are no longer Editor, I must take the opportunity of meeting you at your birthday party to consult you about certain opinions that have been put forward, and various statements that have been made, which are not in accordance with what I then submitted to you.

I had arrived at the conclusion that there was no Roman camp or walled town on the Castle Hill, but that the whole area was covered with the household rubbish of Romans and Romanised British who occupied that, as they did every desirable site up and down the valley.

In post-Roman but pre-Norman times the end of the hill, above where Magdalene now stands, was steeply scarped and a double fosse dug across the promontory. The material from all these excavations was heaped up to form a mound, and it is therefore full of the Roman rubbish which had been lying about on the surface. On this flat-topped mound a wooden fort was constructed, and in time, outside the ramparts, a town sprung up again on the old site and possibly a small monastic fraternity was established somewhere near. The river, of the old course of which there is plenty of evidence, then ran close under the steep-scarped slope of the fortress—beneath the south-east part of the Master's Lodge at Magdalene. The water-course running at right angles to this, i.e. south-east from the corner of

the Master's Lodge, does not represent any natural channel and is of quite later date. Then came the Normans and built a Castle north-west of the Mound. They enclosed it and the Mound with the usual rampart which followed the rectangular outline suggested by the natural form of the ground—and this outer work, which was, in the case of some similar castles, a palisaded bank, and, in some cases, a wall, is what we see traces of in the grounds north-east of Magdalene Lodge and by Mount Pleasant, while the fosse was seen when the brick pits were being dug along the north-east side near Blackmoor Piece, and in the course of excavations for drains across the Huntingdon Road.

This opinion has however been unfavourably criticised and the view has been put forward that the Mound was thrown up by the Normans, while the earthwork, which I believed to be the outer rampart of the Norman Castle, is held to be Roman.

The arguments for the Norman age of the Mound are chiefly documentary and based upon records of the erection of Norman Castles where similar mounds are now seen. I am unable to offer an exhaustive review of the history of all Norman Castles, but, taking the one before us, I see no reason for supposing that the Mound was early Norman rather than pre-Norman, but rather the contrary, seeing that the Castle was built actually on the fosse of the Mound. The Mound at Arundel on which a Norman shell keep was afterwards erected is also in the fosse of a much more ancient earthwork which has been modified to accommodate it, and pre-Norman records establish that there was some fort there in

Saxon times. The Mound at Huntingdon guards a site which had been of strategic importance from Roman times—and it is known that there was a pre-Norman fortress there of which there is now no trace unless it is represented by the Mound.

I have myself watched excavations here and there all round the Castle Hill and yet never met with any foundations or other masonry of Roman date—nor any Roman material used up in later buildings, except such as obviously belong to domestic life. I saw the brick pits open along the north-east side and there was no trace of a Roman wall there, but plenty of evidence from pottery and other objects that the surface then exposed was the surface when the Romans and Romanised British lived there.

When once organised resistance had been overcome the Roman conquerors and natives settled down quietly together and there was probably as much security for life and property then as there is now. There seem to have been then as many residences, whether villages or villas, in the neighbourhood of Cambridge as there are at the present day. The population is very likely larger now if we include the inhabitants of towns like Cambridge. On the ground occupied, however, it would appear that there were rather more residential sites then than now—but we must not infer that there was a camp or walled town wherever we find traces of Roman household rubbish.

I have also watched excavations across the flat ground beyond the Castle but saw no foundations of walls nor any trace of a paved or metalled road.

The outer fosse of the Castle, filled with black earth and bones of domestic animals, was cut through when the deep drain was dug along the Huntingdon Road.

I have seen a drain 10 feet deep through the steep bank at Pleasant Row—the section showed "made ground" on marl—but no masonry.

I confess that I am somewhat surprised to find no trace of Norman masonry on the ramparts of the inner or outer bailey and admit that this weakens the force of the negative evidence respecting the possibility of there having once been a Roman wall here. The dressed stone facings were of course carried away for building churches, colleges, and private houses, but there ought to be some traces of the strong grouting inside of the walls had it ever existed.

You remember that when we met at Magdalene on the 18th of February last, after you had given us one of your lucid expositions of the growth of the College, the whole party adjourned to the Master's grounds and I was invited to explain my views as to the earthworks.

I gave my reasons for considering the bank running along the north-west wall of the grounds to be the Norman outwork facing the river; which if it was of masonry should be a curtain wall, or, if a palisaded bank only, must have had a berme to protect its base. There would probably have been two bastions, one behind Wentworth House and the other at the opposite end of the bank or wall.

I was delighted to hear of your spirited proposal to dig a trench across the grounds to look for the

river face of the Castle, and I hope that no unforeseen difficulties may arise to prevent your bringing the question to the test of direct observation. It must be remembered, however, that the river is now held up at a much higher level than the course in which it ran in Norman times, and arrangements must be made to have the locks open and a strong pump ready to keep down the upland water.

My views respecting the history of the site were not accepted by all present, and it was stoutly maintained by some that the outer works of the Castle coincided with a stone city wall of Roman date. It was hard to maintain a negative, and I could only say that, as we had met on the ground to look into the evidence, if any one was in possession of any facts bearing upon the question whether there ever was a Roman walled town there he should show us the traces of it, or at any rate the exact spot on which he held that such evidence had been or might be found. But no one attempted to do so. The Master, however, who up to this had been detained by considerations of hospitality, when nearly everybody had gone, took Dr H. P. Stokes and myself and one other to see what had been pointed out to him a few days before, if not as a Roman wall, at any rate as containing Roman material. It comes about the middle of the wall of the Phoenix Nursery Garden on the north-west side. The main mass is quite recent, being built of $2\frac{1}{2}$ inch Cambridge bricks. The supposed Roman part has in it some courses of the old 2 inch "Ely" bricks but nothing which can be more than a few centuries old. Some of the bricks, but not the oldest, are set

half-herring-bone fashion—a mode of construction quite common in Cambridge.

So that bit of evidence may be dismissed and I only repeat the challenge—show us evidence on the ground that any Roman defensive works ever existed on the Castle Hill. Of course "the bearings of this obserwation lays in the application on it," as Captain Bunsby used to say, for we must be satisfied that the excavators or observers would recognise what it was when they saw it.

But now a very interesting line of reasoning was started which however might have been as well discussed in the library as on the ground.

It was stated that there was direct mention in Bede of a stone wall still in existence at Cambridge in his time. Bede narrates that St Etheldreda was placed in a [wooden] coffin which appears to have been buried in the open ground, or, at any rate, in some place not within the walls of the Church. After sixteen years her sister, who had succeeded her in the office of Abbess, thought fit to take up her bones, and, placing them in a new coffin, to reinter them inside the Church. She therefore told some of the brethren to procure a stone of which to make a coffin. As there was no suitable material in the Isle of Ely, they went by water to look for it elsewhere, and came to a deserted town called Grantacæstre, where, near the defences of the city (*juxta muros*), they found a white marble coffin, beautifully cut out and covered with a lid of the same sort of stone. Whether we read *factum* or *sectum* or *tectum* the description meant no more than that it was not merely a number of slabs with which

it was not unusual to construct a coffin-like chamber, nor was it merely a block of stone out of which they could have made a coffin, but that it was a coffin hollowed out of one stone, that, as the story goes on to say, it had a lid, and that the work was beautifully finished.

The point, however, on which chief stress was laid was that the coffin was found *juxta muros*, as it was urged that *murus* was used for stone walls only. In support of this it was pointed out that we always speak of the *murus* and the *vallum* for the stone wall and earthen rampart respectively which run between the Tyne and Solway. That however does not go for much. It was Dr J. Collingwood Bruce who stereotyped the words in that sense for convenience of reference. I know something of those Scotch lines of defence and have held the dear old man up on the high corner of one of the mile castles till my arm has ached as it had never ached before, for fear of interrupting him while he was explaining the features to us and pointing out to us with his well-known old mother gamp the relation of the various defences to one another. That was an unfortunate reference for those who would insist upon there having been stone walls around Grantacæstre from the passage in Bede in which he says that the coffin was found "juxta muros" of the deserted city.

Between the Tyne and Solway there are first the Picts' Wall, an ordinary fosse and vallum in which the material dug out of the ditch was thrown up to form the bank, with additions where necessary.

There is nothing in it that can be called building but only earth heaped up. This is the *Vallum* of Dr Bruce.

Secondly, there is a great series of Roman camps on the south side and of British camps on the north.

Thirdly, when the Romans were victorious, they built a *turf* wall along their general line of defence. The structure of this was first recognised by Cadwalader Bates but it has not yet been traced far. This was the first of the continuous Roman lines. It is not strictly parallel to the Picts' earth-wall or to the Roman stone wall under which it seems to pass in one place. It is probable that this was Hadrian's Wall (see below).

Fourthly, the great stone wall was built (the *Murus* of Dr Bruce) which was strengthened with mile castles and joined up Roman walled camps of various dates. This may have been built by Severus or perhaps at a quite later time.

There is, however, about 70 miles further north, another great wall which runs between the Firth of Clyde and the Firth of Forth and is known as the Wall of Antoninus. This is built of sods like that which I have referred to above as Hadrian's Wall. Capitolinus referring to this very wall calls it *Murus coespititius*[1]. "Nam et Britannos per Lollium urbicum legatum vicit, *alio muro cespititio* submotis barbaris ducto," that is *another turf wall* having been constructed across the island when the barbarians had been driven further north. Casaubon in a footnote explains that *alio* not *alto* is the correct

[1] Capitolinus: *Antoninus Pius*, c. 5.

reading because Capitolinus was thinking of the earlier wall which had been built by Hadrian.

Those who maintain that *Murus* generally meant a stone wall might urge that *Murus coespititius* was only an example of such expressions as "Foxhunting to the wild boar" or "a bronze looking-glass," but that does not support the contention that Bede meant a stone wall.

There are the two turf walls still so well preserved that their structure can be studied and there is no stone work at all in them.

Moenia was the word for the stone walls with their turrets etc., outside which came the *Vallum* and berme and fosse and sometimes line beyond line of such earthworks.

Muri was not used for the single stone wall but for all the lines or defences of the city, and commonly to the exclusion of the stone wall. This seems to be quite clear from such passages as :

Moenia lata videt triplici circumdata muro (*Aen.* VI. 248).

Zama cujus moenia rex duplici muro soepsit (Vitr. 8. 4).

Moenia muro amplexus est (Flor. 1, 4, 2).

I hunted up in the Library the following passages also "Qui aggerem contineret, moerus; quod moeniendi causa portabatur moenus" Varr. 5. 44, 32 § 141. Which must mean that *murus* was applied to that part of the defences of which an earthen bank formed an important feature.

Again, "murus, qui urbem dividat seu ambiendo ab agro separet."

This I take it describes exactly the character of

an unfortified Roman town like Cambridge. There were ditches which surrounded the settlement and separated it from the open country ; and smaller ditches, which marked the boundaries of the several divisions and holdings within the town and served as drains.

This was a feature common to the Romanised British settlements as seen near Cottenham and Somerford and mediaeval towns like Cambridge, where the King's Ditch outside has smaller ditches inside running into it which cut up the town into numerous more or less isolated areas.

The Public Orator referred me to *Aen.* II. 324 : "Dividimus muros et moenia pandimus urbis."

Surely this must mean that, as they could not get the great wooden horse through the gates by which they made their sorties and generally went in and out of the city, they interrupted the continuity of their outer earthworks (*muri*) and made an opening in the stone wall (*moenia*) of the city. That is to say, they dug through the *vallum* and threw the earth into the fosse so that they could drag the heavy cumbrous machine across it and on through the gap in the stone wall into the city.

These passages make it quite clear that the words *murus* or *muri* were used for the ditch and bank which were so commonly constructed outside the stone walls of a city, or even for defences of which a stone wall formed no part.

It was urged that there was no doubt that the place referred to by Bede was Cambridge not Grantchester, since in the *Liber Eliensis* the place where the coffin was found was in the writer's day known

as Aermeswerck, and it was stated that the name could be traced down to later times. That may or may not be.

We do not care to criticise the beautiful productions of the great artists of Italy, Spain or the Netherlands in any carping spirit although we cannot help noticing that, in depicting scenes from sacred history, each has clothed the actors in the costumes of his own time and idealised a face or form that would commend itself to those for whom he was painting, but he does not give a correct representation of the far east to which the persons and scenes belonged. So we should treat the word painting of the pious monastic chroniclers.

When I was for a different purpose looking up some of the events recorded in the *Acta Sanctorum* I was struck by the solid substratum of truth I could often detect in narratives, the general dressing up of which rather inclined one to regard the whole story with disbelief or suspicion.

We are warned by commentators that copyists introduce marginal glosses into the text—that later writers try "to go one better" and expand pious ejaculations into narrative, and we are told that parts of Bede as we have them are by a later hand. We must bring common sense to bear upon such questions and cannot accept all the details in Bede's writings as they have come down to us or in the *Liber Eliensis*, when they conflict with the direct evidence derived from observation. Bearing all this in mind we turn again to the story of the coffin, for there is one very important point connected with it

which calls for explanation. The brethren who were sent to look for a suitable stone out of which to fashion a coffin for St Etheldreda are said to have found one ready made *juxta muros* of the deserted town. Some maintain that this means that stone walls of a Roman town were still visible and that a Roman coffin lay ready to hand near them. But we have a fuller description of this coffin further on. We read that in size and shape it might have been made purposely for the virgin, and that it had a place cut out which exactly fitted her head.

Now who ever saw a Roman coffin with a place cut out for the head? The description is exactly that of an early mediaeval coffin. Was this then the earliest mediaeval coffin of which we have any record? Bede died in the second quarter of the eighth century. Or is the description by a later hand when that type of coffin had become common? In the Sedgwick Museum it happens that the almost rectangular Roman coffin and the mediaeval coffin shaped to fit the form and head may now be seen and compared. In any case, the argument for the existence of Roman Walls from the use of the word *muros*, or the occurrence of such a coffin there, is not worth much.

But in my eagerness to gain your support for my views I must not forget the occasion. Some heavy clouds, which have passed over us, still hang on the horizon, reminding us of the pelting storm to which you, and, with you, many friends, have so recently been exposed. But the sun will shine again on the storm-swept land. You have borne

yourself so bravely in the past that we may confidently wish you many happy returns of this day,—happy in productive work and closer-drawn friendships.

Believe me, my dear J,

With the greatest regard,

Yours affectionately

T. McKenny Hughes.

THE COFFIN STONE OF ETHELDREDA

In the year 673 Etheldreda 'began the minster at Ely,' as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle informs us, and there she lived, as abbess, until her death, seven years later. She was buried, in accordance with her own desire, 'in the midst of her own people, according to the order of her decease, in a wooden coffin.' What followed may be told in the words of Bede:

> 'Etheldreda was succeeded in the office of abbess by her sister Sexburga, who had been married to Earconberct, king of Kent. When Etheldreda had been buried sixteen years the same abbess resolved to raise her bones, place them in a new coffin and remove them to the church. She ordered some of the brethren to look for a stone wherewith to make a coffin with this object. They took ship—as the district of Ely is entirely surrounded with waters and fens and has no large stones—and came to a certain desolate little city (*civitatula*), situated not far away, which in the English language is called Grantacaestir. And presently they found near the walls (*iuxta muros*) of the city a coffin beautifully fashioned of white marble, closely fitted with a lid of the like stone. So, perceiving that the Lord had prospered their journey, they gave thanks and brought it with them to the monastery.'

Bede's story was retold, with much embroidery of marvel, by a monk of Ely, named Thomas, in the first book of the *Historia Eliensis*, which was edited in 1848 by the Rev. D. J. Stewart. One

fact only which is worth our observation is added by Thomas—who wrote about the middle of the twelfth century—that the coffin stone was found by the Ely brethren 'in a place which to the present day is called Aermeswerch[1].' Of the nature of Aermeswerch and its locality we need be in no doubt. It was one of those 'works,' so often mentioned in the Chronicle—earthworks put up by Saxon or Dane to guard a river passage, and fenced with a fosse and stockade. Its locality is made certain by a passage in the Barnwell *Liber Memorandorum*, written about the end of the thirteenth century (ed. Clark, pp. 167, 168), which describes a perambulation of the Castle bounds, made about the year 1285 by order of Edward I. The perambulation began 'at the place called Armeswerk,' and was continued along the eastern side of the Castle fosse and then along its northern and western sides. It then descended to the river, near the *curia* of the clerks of Merton (*hodie* the School of Pythagoras) and so returned to the starting-point. Armeswerk was therefore the name of a place on the northern bank of the river and between it and the terrace in Magdalene garden.

A small gleam of light is thrown upon this site by the Anglo-Saxon version of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, containing the passage above cited. This version was written, either by King Alfred himself or under his direction, about the year 890. Several MS.

[1] The *Historia Eliensis* explains the name Aermeswerch as meaning *opus miseri*, the Poor Man's Work, connecting it with A.-S. *earm*, or *aerm*, poor. It is a coincidence that the British entrenchment near the Devil's Dyke, Brighton, is still called Poor Man's Wall.

copies of it are in existence. They give a literal rendering of Bede's Latin, translating his 'ad civitatulam quandam desolatam' as 'a certain ruined *chester*' (to sumre ceastre gehrohrenre) and 'iuxta muros civitatis' as 'by the *chester* walls' (be thaere ceastre weallum). But one MS. has a small variant. It says that the Ely brethren came 'to Granta stream' (to Grantan streame) and that they found the stone 'by the stream walls' (be thaere streame weallum).

From Bede's story and Alfred's version of it the question arises—Was this desolated little city, or ruined *chester*, a Roman or a Saxon settlement? In 696, when the Ely brethren visited the site of Grantacaestir, nearly three centuries had passed since the withdrawal of the Roman legionaries from Britain. What probability, it may be asked, is there that, when all the county of Cambridge was apparently studded with the *tons* and *hams* of English settlers, a site so important as Cambridge remained untenanted? I would answer that, though Bede tells us that the *chester* was desolate, there is no need to suppose that the southern bank of the river was unoccupied. Besides, there is evidence that many important Roman sites did remain unpeopled for centuries after the English invasion. Some were never re-occupied; others only after a long interval. An instance of the latter kind is Chester, the Roman Castra Legionum, Anglo-Saxon Legeceaster. It is mentioned in the Chronicle in 606, but only as the scene of a battle. So late as the year 894, when it was occupied by the Danes, it is described in the

Chronicle as 'a waste chester' (on anre waestre ceastre[1]).

The name Grantacaestir in itself affords a strong presumption that the site described by Bede was recognised in his time as a Roman settlement; and that presumption is strengthened by the application to it in Alfred's time of the word *ceaster*. As applied to places in England I believe that *ceaster* always indicates a Roman site. To the Saxon *burh*, with its insignificant earthworks and timbered citadel, a *chester*, whether it were a walled town or a banked camp, had no sort of resemblance. The things 'chester' and 'wall' were so strange to the first English invaders that they were obliged to borrow the words for both from the Latin, and *weall* did duty alike for *vallum* and *murus*. The grand, ruined *chesters* which survived with some of their old magnificence in Bede's day were the marvel of the dwellers in primitive English homesteads. The wonder of them is expressed in an ancient Saxon poem

> 'Chesters are seen afar,
> Skilled work of giants that are on this earth,
> Wondrous work of wall-stones.'

And the same words suggest themselves to another poet, who in a lay descriptive of a fallen Roman city which can hardly be any other than Akemanceaster, or Bath, can only repeat 'the wall-stones are wondrous,' they are 'giants' work.'

[1] Florence of Worcester, writing of the same occasion, describes Chester in words which are an echo of those used in the *Historia Eliensis* of the site of Grantacaestir. Florence says 'civitatem Legionum tunc temporis desertam quae Saxonice Legeceastir dicitur': the *Historia* says 'civitatem quandam tunc temporis desolatam quae lingua Anglorum Grantecester vocatur.'

In Bede's Latin *civitas* is constantly and exclusively used for a Roman camp or town; and it is invariably rendered by *ceaster* in Alfred's translation[1]. Bede's names for settlements of Saxon origin and their unchanging equivalents in Alfred's version are *locus* (*stow*), *vicus* (*tun*) and *urbs* (*burh*). The examples of each class of name are so numerous, and the Anglo-Saxon rendering of each is so constant, that it is evident that they connoted entirely distinct kinds of settlement. Sometimes a *burh* rose on the site of a *chester*, and in such a case either name is applicable. London is Lundenburh as well as Lundenceaster: Burgh Castle is both a *castrum* (*ceaster*) and an *urbs* (*burh*).

The Grantacaestir of Bede's story was therefore certainly a Roman *chester*, not a Saxon *burh* or *tun*. Armeswerk, if it existed at all in 696, was a mere earthwork, not an inhabited site. In the middle of the *chester* stood, as it still stands, the Castle mound, though it is likely that the Conqueror added to its height when he built his keep upon it. In the days of Bede it is scarcely probable that it was crowned by any 'work' of Saxon erection. Mr Allcroft in his *Earthwork of England* (p. 381) calls attention to the almost complete absence of any traces in England of fortresses which can be ascribed to the earliest Saxon times. 'It was the Germanic way to rely rather upon the terror and desolation wherewith they ringed their place of settlement,' in other words, on the 'mark,' or waste land, which served

[1] In the *Ecclesiastical History* the word *civitas* is applied to thirteen places in England, all, with the possible exception of Dunwich, Roman camps or towns.

them in lieu of fosse or wall. Even in the ninth century, when the terror of the Dane forced the English to adopt a system of fortification which was foreign to the national character, there are the best reasons for believing that Cambridge remained unfortified by a *burh*, or central citadel. The Ely History has a good deal to say of Cambridge, both before and after the Conquest; but, though it mentions the Norman castle, it has no hint of the existence of a Saxon *burh*. It speaks indeed of a great hundred moot which was held at Cambridge in the tenth century 'under Thernigefeld, near Magdeneburh,' and I do not know where Magdeneburh should be located if not at the Castle Hill. There is a Maidenborough Street at Colchester which is at the foot of the Castle hill there. But the Castle hill at Colchester dates from times pre-Roman. Maiden Castle is a common name for an earthwork; but, whatever the derivation of the name—and it is said to be Celtic—the places which bear it are all earthworks of pre-Saxon date[1]. In the reign of Edward the Elder many *burhs* were built as a protection against the Danes. Hertford, Bedford, Huntingdon and others are mentioned in the counties round Cambridge; but at Cambridge itself there is no record of *burh*-building. When the Conqueror built his castle he had to destroy twenty-seven houses to clear the site. The name Sale Piece, or the Sale, which was given in deeds as early as the reign of King John to a plot of land at the angle formed by Huntingdon Road and Victoria

[1] Allcroft, *Earthwork of England*, p. 99.

Road, gives a little clue as to the character of the Saxon settlement within the Roman *castrum*. Sale is Middle English for 'hall,' A.S. *sael* or *sele*. From Beowulf downwards the name always described the same thing, the unprotected hall of a lord or *thegn*; and its compounds 'guest-sale,' 'wine-sale' are indications of its entirely domestic character. Such a building can hardly have been spared when the other houses near the Castle were destroyed by the Conqueror. That the Saxons utilized the Roman ramparts and fenced them with a stockade is a reasonable surmise. That they built a *burh* within them is possible, but there is no particle of evidence that they did so[1].

The fact that the *chester* described by Bede had walls is an indication of its nature. These *muri* can only have been walls of masonry—not earthworks such as the Magdalene terrace. It is true that Alfred's translation of 'iuxta muros civitatis' is 'be thaere ceastre weallum,' and that *weall* may mean 'earthwork' as well as 'wall.' But *murus* does not mean a *vallum*, or earthwork, and Bede knew that it did not. When he is writing about the wall of Severus in northern Britain he is careful to say that it was not really a wall, *murus*, but a rampart, *vallum*. 'For,' he says, 'a wall is made with stones; but a rampart, with which camps are fortified to repel the attacks of enemies, is made of sods cut out of the earth and raised above the ground, like a wall, having in front

[1] The historical evidence collected by Mr St John Hope in his Communication on the Norman Origin of Cambridge Castle (*Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Proceedings*, XLVII. pp. 324—345) conclusively demonstrates that the theory of the *burh* origin of the Castle has no foundation of fact.

of it the ditch whence the sods were taken, and strong stakes fixed on the top[1].'

The ordinary Roman camp was defended by a *vallum*, not by a wall. Bede's Grantacaestir must have belonged to the class, common in Britain, of towns which, owing their origin to military camps, developed into commercial centres and were also permanent fortresses. Silchester, Colchester and York are examples of this class. The walls there were backed by the *vallum*, and we may reasonably infer that this was the case with the walls of Grantacaestir. The *vallum* of a camp was six feet high and eight feet in thickness: that of a town may have been higher. But in their present dimensions the great banks in Magdalene grounds and on Mount Pleasant cannot be the creation of Roman, still less of Saxon, times: they are the aggregations of the original *vallum* made by the Normans. If the Roman walls exist they must be buried under the banks; and that they do exist is rendered highly probable by the evidence of Bowtell—

'On the interior edge of the fosse stood a very ancient wall, some remains whereof were discovered in March 1804, when improvements were making thereabouts by destroying a part of the *vallum* towards the N.W. end: which wall abutted eastwardly on the great road, near to the turnpike-gate leading to Huntingdon, and westwardly at a little distance from Drake's spring.

'The materials in the foundation of this wall consisted of flinty pebbles, fragments of Roman bricks and ragstone, so firmly cemented that prodigious labour, with the help of pick-axes, was required to separate them: a part of the wall was consequently left undisturbed, and the fosse-way which accompanied it

[1] *Eccl. Hist.* i. chap. 5. Alfred translates *vallum* in this passage by 'earth wall.'

was filled up with earth from the mutilated ramparts of the Castle yard, raised in the time of Cromwell's usurpation.

'Digging also about the middle of the east side of the Roman camp, there appeared the foundation of an ancient stone building, supposed to be the remains of the Decuman gate.

'Directly opposite, or middle of the west side of this camp, a part of the *vallum* was cut away, thereon to lay the foundation of the Lancastrian free-school which was there erected in the year 1810. At a short distance from the north end thereof a similar foundation was discovered, and conjectured to have been part of another gate belonging to the Roman station. Much of the stone *agger*, or bank, that encompassed this fortress still lies concealed in the ground[1].'

As the wall appears to have been backed by the mound it is likely that the coffin stone, which was found *iuxta muros*, was lying on its outer side. The expression 'stream walls' in Alfred's version suggests that it was discovered outside the face of the wall which fronted the river; and the Ely History says that such was the fact. The cemeteries of Romano-British towns were invariably extra-mural. It is not unlikely that the stone had once been built into the wall. The Ely brethren, living in a stoneless land, went to the Roman walls of Grantacaestir as to a recognised quarry; but they were not prepared to find a stone ready hewn for their purpose. We know that the wall of Roman London contained many fragments of sculptured stones, some apparently taken from tombs[2]. And Thucydides tells us that in the erection of the Long Walls at Athens 'many tombstones and wrought blocks from earlier buildings were utilized.'

One question remains. What was the 'Granta stream' which bordered 'the stream walls'? There

[1] MSS. Bowtell, ii. pp. 98, 99.

[2] Besant, *Early London*, p. 125.

were Roman river walls at London, York and Colchester. Those at London and Colchester were drawn in each case at an average distance of 100 yards from the water-edge. In both places, the river being tidal, a considerable part of the intervening space was foreshore, which was probably at all times marshy. The distance from the Magdalene terrace to the present channel of the river is about the same: it varies from about 200 feet at the eastern end of the bank to about 400 feet at the western end, near the Master's Lodge. But in Roman times there was another river-course which was much closer to the city walls. This was the watercourse known in the fifteenth century by the curious name 'Cambrigge.' In times probably prehistoric it was the chief or perhaps the only channel of the river in this part. The Barnwell Book has a story of a very old palmer-pilgrim, living in the thirteenth century, who recollected a time when 'ships' came up this river-course almost to the gate of St Giles' monastery, which presumably stood where the church of St Giles now stands[1]. The watercourse was visible to Dr Caius in the middle of the sixteenth century as 'the vestiges of a running stream,' and in 1574, the date of Lyne's plan of Cambridge, it was still crossed in Magdalene Street by an iron grating, which took the place of an earlier bridge, called Cambrigge Brigge. Before the end of the eighteenth century the watercourse had become a lane and the bridge had disappeared. Conveyances of properties adjoining the watercourse, which are cited in the *Architectural History* (ii. pp. 355—357) and belong to the

[1] *Liber Memorandorum*, p. 99.

fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, enable us to trace its exact course from Magdalene Street to the western end of the garden terrace. It ran in a line almost parallel with that of the terrace, and some 15 or 20 yards south of its base. Evidently it served as an additional defence to the Roman city on its southern side. Between it and the walls it is likely that the coffin stone was found by the Ely brethren.

ARTHUR GRAY.

PLAYS PERFORMED IN CAMBRIDGE COLLEGES BEFORE 1585

Two or three years ago, the Registrary, with his accustomed kindness, allowed me to copy notes relating to the performances of plays in Trinity College transcribed by himself from the Bursarial accounts. On another occasion I remember him expressing a wish that someone should put together a connected history of the Cambridge academic drama. Since then, thanks to the kindness of Mr Aldis Wright, the Vice-Master, I have seen the Trinity accounts myself and been able to add to the notes given me by Mr Clark, while similar kindness on the part of the Bursar (now the Master) of St John's, the Bursars of King's, Christ's, Gonville and Caius, and Corpus Christi and of Mr Arthur Gray of Jesus, has enabled me to collect data in regard to the performance of plays in those colleges as well.

It is now a pleasure to me to offer to the Registrary, with deep respect, the firstfruits of studies which he has himself assisted and encouraged, and which lie in a by-path of that Academic history

with which his own name for all time will be pre-eminently associated.

Our chief source of knowledge in regard to the acting of plays in the different colleges of our University is the Bursarial accounts. Unfortunately however this source often fails us. At St John's no accounts are preserved of earlier date than 1555, and so we have no record of the plays seen in the college hall by Ascham. At Caius there are no accounts before 1609, though we know of the performance of a play at Caius just thirty years earlier. Even where the accounts exist, their mention of performances, which we know from other sources to have been given at the College, is only haphazard, especially after the earliest period. And where they do mention a performance, they generally omit the name of the play.

However in a considerable number of cases the College accounts do give us the information we want, and by their aid I have been able to construct a list of plays performed in Cambridge Colleges up to 1585 which is fuller than any printed hitherto. This list forms the staple of the present short paper.

The earliest reference to the performance of plays in Cambridge Colleges is that found by Warton[1] in the Rawlinson MSS. in a fragment of an account-roll of Michael-house, "in which under the year 1386 the following expense is entered: 'Pro ly pallio brusdato et pro sex larvis et barbis

[1] The *Ludus Filiorum Israel* acted by the Guild of Corpus Christi in 1350 (*Retrospective Review*, XII. 7) is clearly not to be counted as a College-play.

in comedia.'"[1] After this we first hear of plays in the accounts of King's College from the year 1482 onwards. One entry for the year mentioned is as follows: "Item sol. Goldyng & Suthey pro expensis circa ludos in festo Natalis domini vii^{s} ij^{d}." On the following day the accounts tell us of a reward given to players from outside the College who gave a performance in the college hall: "Itm in regardis datis lusoribus in aula collegij in festo sancti Stephani xvi^{d}." These entries are typical of those that occur in College accounts for nearly 200 years from that time. Payments are made to members of the College for their expenses in providing College plays (often also to carpenters for erecting a stage, to barbers for supplying wigs, etc.) ; payments are also made to strolling players and musicians coming to the College from all parts of the country.

To deal here only with payments of the first kind, at King's we have payments 'circa ludos,' 'lusoribus,' 'pro apparatu in le disgysynges,' 'pro lusu,' etc. for the Christmases of 1482, 1489, 1496, 1509, 1510, 1535, 1536 etc. At Christ's we hear of 'ye play' in 1532 and of another in 1533 (Ash Wednesday), of 'ij plays' at Christmas of that year, and of 'the plays' at Christmas of the year following. Unfortunately these plays are nowhere named, and we cannot trace the gradual transition from moralities to classical comedies which no doubt occurred in the early years of the 16th century.

When we do get plays named, we see the

[1] Warton, *History of English Poetry*, Section xxxiv.

humanist influence in full strength, as the following list will show.

As plays were generally performed between Christmas and Lady Day, and it is often impossible to say whether a play was given at the end of one year or at the beginning of the next, it is necessary for me often to date a play by the two years.

Date	College	Play Author	Authority
1520–32	St John's	*Microcosmus* (T. Artour)	Bale, Cent. IX. 16
1520–32	St John's	*Mundus plumbeus* (T. Artour)	,, ,,

[Artour was fellow of the College during these years—and it is likely that the plays were written for representation. Both would appear to have been of the nature of moralities. They are now lost.]

1536 Christmas	St John's	*Plutus* (Aristophanes) (in Greek)	Mullinger II. 73
c. 1540	St John's	*Absolon* (T. Watson)	Ascham, *Scholemaster* ed. Mayor, p. 169
1543	Queens'	'actio dialogi Textoris'	Coll. acc.

[From a later entry in the accounts, 'pro picto clipeo quo miles generosus vsus est in comoedia,' the dialogue was probably Textor's *Thersites*, either in Latin or in the well-known English form written in 1537.]

1545 Lent	Christ's	*Pammachius* (Kirchmayer)	Cooper II. 442
1546 Christmas	Trinity	*Jephtha* (Christopherson) (in Greek and Latin)	*Retrosp. Rev.*, XII. 9

[The *Retrospective Review* states that Christopherson, afterwards Master of the College, exhibited *Jephtha* in Greek and Latin in 1546. The MS. of the Greek play is in Trin. Coll. Library (O. I. 37). Tanner had apparently seen the Latin version, which, he says, was dedicated to Henry VIII (*Bibliotheca*). G. Buchanan also wrote a *Jephtha* about 1540, and Ascham, who was in Cambridge till 1548 apparently, says in his *Scholemaster* (ed. Mayor, p. 169) that he had seen it acted (at least that is my reading of his words).]

Date	College	Play Author	Authority
1546 Christmas	Trinity	*Pax* (Aristophanes) (in Greek)	John Dee's statement. See *D.N.B.*
1549 Feb.	Queens'	*Penulus* (Plautus ?)	Coll. acc.
1550–60	Christ's	*Gammer Gurton's Needle* ('Mr S.')	The printed play.

[W. Stephenson, who has been happily suggested by Dr Peile as the author of *G.G.N.*, produced a number of plays at Christ's between these dates.]

1551–2	Trinity	*Troas* (Seneca's *Troades*)	Coll. acc.
1551–2	Trinity	*Menechmus* (Plautus' *Menæchmi* ?)	Coll. acc.
1552–3	Queens'	'comœdia' (exhibited by Nic. Robinson)	Coll. acc.

[The *D.N.B.* states that a play named *Strylius* by N. Robinson, who became afterwards Bishop of Bangor (1566–1586), was acted at Queens' in 1553.]

1554 Feb.	Queens'	*Stichus* (Plautus ?)	Coll. acc.
1554–5	Trinity	*de crumena perdita*	Coll. acc.

[The play was exhibited by 'Sr Huttun' (Matthew Hutton, afterwards Archbishop of York) who may have been its author.]

1557 Jan. 7	Trinity	'a commedie of Plautus'	Cooper II. 112
1559–60	Trinity	*Oedipus* (Seneca ?)	Coll. acc.
1559–60	Trinity	'both the english plaies'	Coll. acc.
1559–60	Trinity	*Mostellaria* (Plautus ?)	Coll. acc.
1559–60	Trinity	*Sapientia Solomonis*	Coll. acc.

[Perhaps suggested by Birck's *Sapientia Salomonis*, printed 1555. See *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch* XXXIV. 224.]

1559–60	Trinity	*Hecuba* (Seneca ?)	Coll. acc.

[Euripides' *Hecuba* had been translated into Latin by Erasmus.]

1560–1	Trinity	*Amphytrio* (Plautus ?)	Coll. acc.
1560–1	Trinity	*Troas* (Seneca ?)	Coll. acc.

Date	College	Play Author	Authority
1560–1	Trinity	*Medea* (Seneca ?)	Coll. acc.
	[G. Buchanan wrote a *Medea* about 1540.]		
1560–1	Trinity	*Acolastus* (Gnapheus ?)	Coll. acc.
	[The Latin play was printed in 1529. Palsgrave's Engl. translation in 1540.]		
1562 Mich. –1563 Mich.	Jesus	*Adelphi* (Terence ?)	Coll. acc.
1562 Mich. –1563 Mich.	Jesus	*Curculio* (Plautus ?)	Coll. acc.
1562–3	Trinity	*Pseudolus* (Plautus ?)	Coll. acc.
1562–3	Trinity	*John babtiste* (Grimald ? or Buchanan ?)	Coll. acc.
	[N. Grimald's Latin play *Archipropheta* 1548. G. Buchanan's *Joh. Baptistes* written c. 1540.]		
1562–3	Trinity	*Christus Triumphans* (John Foxe ?)	Coll. acc.
	[Foxe's play printed 1556.]		
1562–3	Trinity	*Adelphus* (Terence's *Adelphi* ?)	Coll. acc.
1562–3	Trinity	*Phormio* (Terence ?)	Coll. acc.
1563 Feb.	Queens'	*Media* (Seneca's *Medea* ?)	Coll. acc.
	[See under 1560—1.]		
1563 Mich. –1564 Mich.	Jesus	*Eunucus* (Terence ?)	Coll. acc.
1563–4	Trinity	*Trinummus* (Plautus ?)	Coll. acc.
1563–4	Trinity	*Bachides* (Plautus ?)	Coll. acc.
1564 Aug. 6	King's	*Aulularia* (Plautus)	Cooper II. 193
1564 Aug. 7	King's	*Dido* (Edw. Haliwell)	Cooper II. 197
1564 Aug. 8	King's	*Ezechias* (N. Udall) (in English)	Cooper II. 197

CAMBRIDGE PLAYS BEFORE 1585

Date	College	Play	Author	Authority
1564 Aug. 9	King's	*Ajax Flagellifer* (in Latin)	(Sophocles)	Cooper II. 202
1564–5	Trinity	*Stichus*	(Plautus ?)	Coll. acc.
1564–5	Trinity	*Philanira*	(Rouillet ?)	Coll. acc.
[*Philanira* by Cl. Rouillet was published in 1556. Creizenach II. 435.]				
1565–6	Trinity	*Asotus*	(G. Macropedius ?)	Coll. acc.
1565–6	Trinity	*Asinaria*	(Plautus ?)	Coll. acc.
1565–6	Trinity	*Crumenaria*		Coll. acc.
[Query, the same play as 'de crumena perdita' acted at Trinity eleven years before ?]				
1565–6	Trinity	*Menechmus*	(Plautus' *Menaechmi* ?)	Coll. acc.
1566–7	Trinity	*Jephthes*	(Buchanan ?)	Coll. acc.
[See under 1546. This play was exhibited by Mr Legge.]				
c. 1579 July ?	St John's	'the playes'		Coll. acc.
[*Hymenæus* and possibly Fraunce's *Victoria* seem to have been played at this time.]				
1579 'Christmas-even'	Jesus	*Bacchides*	(Plautus ?)	Coll. acc.
1580 Mar.	St John's	*Richardus III*	(Legge)	date on MS.
1581 Feb. 6	Trinity	'the plaies'		Coll. acc.
[Probably *Pedantius* (E. Forsett ?) was one.]				
1581 Mich. –1582 Mich.	Jesus	*puer vapulans*		Coll. acc.
[The entry in the accounts is merely 'Item to Mr Murgetrod for puer vapulans v*s*. x*d*.,' I take it however to refer to a comedy. N. Frischlin's *Priscianus vapulans* was printed at Strasburg in 1580.]				
1583 Dec.	St John's	*Persa*	(Plautus)	Coll. acc.

It will be remembered that the plays produced in Colleges during this period—even as attested by our very imperfect records—were many times as numerous as those here mentioned. At Jesus for example for many years it was the custom to have 'a common play' at the end of every term. I have given no indication of the number of performances of which evidence exists. Neither have I touched on the interesting details in regard to the representation of plays and the money spent on them which may be gleaned from our records. The mere list of plays, known to have been performed in particular Colleges at particular dates, seemed to me to provide material enough for a short paper.

From the list, however, one may form a few general ideas of the course of the history of the academic drama in the period chosen. The majority of plays acted were in Latin; we know of two only,—both in the period 1535 to 1550,—which were given in Greek. Both were from Aristophanes. Plays in English were acted occasionally—as *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, *Ezechias* (before the Queen) and others—though perhaps less commonly than in the subsequent period. Judging from the titles of acted plays, Plautus, Terence and Seneca were the Latin authors most drawn upon. Some Latin plays may however have been translations from the Greek of Euripides or Sophocles—the *Ajax Flagellifer* we know to have been so. Apart from the ancients, recourse was had to the plays of renaissance writers—plays of a scriptural or morally edifying sort, such as Watson's *Absolon*, Buchanan's *Jephthes*, Gnapheus' *Acolastus*, Textor's *Thersites*,

and Macropedius' *Asotus*—or plays of a controversial kind such as Kirchmayer's *Pammachius*, and Foxe's *Christus Triumphans*.

But probably by 1585 the fashion for plays of this kind was over. A cleavage had taken place in the once united body of Humanist-Reformers. The Puritans saw in the drama not a means of edification, but a stone of stumbling: the academic playwright dropped the rôle of moralist and was content to amuse. Even Plautus, Terence and Seneca were discarded—at least our records no longer mention their names. A new source of inspiration had been found in Italian novels and Italian Comedy[1], and of these most Cambridge plays after this date were adaptations or imitations, while others, such as the *Parnassus Plays*, *Club Law* and *Fucus*, were social satires inspired by the place and the hour at which they were produced. Before the close of our period *Hymenæus*, adapted from Boccaccio, *Victoria* translated from L. Pasqualigo, *Pedantius*, with its satire on a Cambridge notability contained in a comedy drawn after the lines of Italy, are indications of the course the drama is taking, not only at Cambridge, but on the greater stages of London. The Chronicle plays which were now to have their vogue in the capital had also had their prototype in Legge's *Richardus Tertius*.

G. C. Moore Smith.

[1] Gabriel Harvey writing to Spenser about 1579 says that Cambridge men have taken to study de Comines, Macchiavelli 'I know not how many owtelandish braveryes besides.' (*Letterbook*, p. 79.)

"AFTER ALL, WE ARE NONE OF US INFALLIBLE—NOT EVEN THE YOUNGEST OF US."

As this phrase, now almost a household word, has been attributed to Archbishop Thomson, to Dr Jowett, and to other academic personages, it may be well that one of those who were present when it was uttered by William Hepworth Thompson, the late Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, should record, to the best of his recollection, the occasion and the circumstances.

Between 3 November 1877 and 1 February 1881, the Governing Body of Trinity College—that is to say, the Master and the Fellows—met on Saturdays in the Great Combination Room, for the preparation of draft statutes to be submitted to the Commission then sitting, and for other business. On 30 March 1878, at the twenty-seventh of the forty-five meetings thus held, XYZ, a Junior Fellow who had not yet taken his master's degree, seconded by one of the Seniors, proposed a scheme for equalizing, so far as possible, the number of fellowships to be filled up at the annual elections. That

is to say, whereas hitherto all vacancies, whether few or many, had been of necessity filled up at the next following annual election, XYZ proposed to empower the Council, temporarily to suspend vacant fellowships which were in excess of the average number, or, if the number of vacancies should be in defect of it, temporarily to add to the number of fellowships offered for competition. The intrinsic value of the scheme was obvious to all : but some of the senior members of the society—by no means all of them—dreaded the criticism which might attend the exercise of the discretionary power, and shrank from the responsibility which it would entail. The objectors were not however numerous, and the resolution was carried by a show of hands.

To the best of my belief, it was when we, the advocates of the measure, were urging our seniors to accept the responsibility, and they—or rather, some of them—were declining it, that the Master, not so much defending their hesitation as rather interpreting it, dropped the remark "After all, we are none of us infallible—not even the youngest of us." I am not certain whether the remark was addressed personally to XYZ. But in any case it was not a sharp rejoinder or a sarcastic rebuke. Rather, it was a humorous reflection ; and it was recognised as such by a shout of uncontrollable laughter. I do not know whether the Master voted : but I can hardly suppose that he, who never shrank from a duty or evaded a responsibility, shared the apprehensions of the objectors.

Later, 24 October 1878, when a statute framed in accordance with XYZ's resolution came before the

Governing Body for approval, an amendment to omit the all-important clause was lost on a show of hands, whereupon the statute was carried *nem. con.* The principal opponent of the measure afterwards told me that he was reconciled to it ; and in the years which have since elapsed, with fewer vacancies and a greater pressure of conflicting claims, " XYZ's statute "—for as such I always think of it—has been of inestimable value to the College.

I have ventured to give these details because I want to make it plain that Thompson's aphorism was not, as has been sometimes imagined, either rude or cruel. Those who have so understood it, did not know Thompson. I have long wished to record my recollections of the incident : and I can have no better opportunity than in a book dedicated to an old and kind friend who shares my affectionate regard for our late Master.

HENRY JACKSON.

13 *May* 1909.

I. THE THESIS IN THE DISPUTATIONS OF THE SENIOR SOPHS AT CAMBRIDGE, 1770—1838

II. "PROCTORS PROBLEMS, 1786"

I

THERE are several difficulties which are likely to puzzle the reader who, in search of information, turns to modern descriptions of the Disputations of the Senior Sophs at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. Most of these difficulties touch minor details, in respect of which accuracy is no doubt desirable, but hard to attain. On the other hand, a clear comprehension of one side of the system seems to depend on the place that we assign to the Thesis. If we can determine its place a little more precisely, so much the better. With that purpose in view we must eschew the picturesque details and human interest which lend life and colour to the narratives of Mr Wordsworth and Mr Rouse Ball, and confine ourselves to the duller side of the evidence.

A Senior Soph, on receipt of a summons from one of the two Moderators to keep an Act in the

Schools, was called the Respondent and immediately waited on the Moderator with three Questions which he had to maintain against three other Senior Sophs nominated by the Moderator and called Opponents. As a rule the first two Questions were mathematical; the first, so far as we know and we have a good deal of evidence on the point, was invariably so; the third was moral or metaphysical[1]. As a specimen we may take the Questions of 5 Feb. from The Moderators' Book for 1778, preserved in the Library of Trinity College:

"Q. S.[2] Feb: 5to.

1. Recte statuit Newtonus in 10ma sua sectione de Motu Pendulorum in Cycloide.

2. Recte statuit Smithius in Cap: 6to Libri secundi.

3. Libertas imprimendi in Rep: bene constituta admitti debet."

The next stage shall be described in the words of the Rev. John Jebb[3], our capital authority:

"The fortnight of Preparation being expired, the Respondent appears in the Schools: he ascends the Rostrum, and reads a Latin Dissertation (called with us a Thesis) upon any one of the three Questions he thinks proper; the Moderator attending in his place.

"As soon as the Respondent has finished his

[1] A statute of Edward VI, another 1 Elizabeth, and a third 12 Eliz., relating to the disputations of Sophs, ordain: "Tres principes quaestiones proponat unam in mathematicis alteram in dialecticis tertiam in philosophicis naturalibus aut moralibus." I have not noticed any subsequent Statute or Grace defining the subjects of the Sophs' Disputations.

[2] Quaestiones sunt.

[3] *Remarks*, 1772 and 1774.

Thesis, which generally takes ten or fifteen minutes in the reading, the Moderator calls upon the first Opponent to appear. He immediately ascends a Rostrum opposite to the Respondent, and proposes his *Arguments* against the Questions in Syllogistical form.

"Eight Arguments, each consisting of three or four Syllogisms, are brought up by the first Opponent, five by the second, and three by the third."

Into the details of the encounter we need not enter.

The Respondent in his mathematical Questions asserted the correctness of certain propositions of Newton, Cotes, or some other recognised authority, which were universally accepted as incontrovertible. The Opponents who impugned them had to base their arguments on some fallacy. The fallacy was there, but the ingenuity with which they cloaked it was the measure of their success. It was the Respondent's business to detect and expose the fallacy. "The arguments," says Whewell, "were often very perplexing.... To be able always to detect the fallacy at the moment, required both a very firm hold of the subject, and great clearness and quickness of mind." In the moral question the Opponents were at less disadvantage, but here too the Respondent championed the orthodox or fashionable view.

The Moderator recorded the merit of each performance by prefixing a mark to the Disputant's name. In the Moderators' Book for 1778 the marks employed are

$$A+, A, A-;\ a+, a, a-;\ E+, E, E-;\ e+, e, e-.$$

A + is the highest, *e* − the lowest mark. The *e* series is only used four times out of 372. The *E* series is rather sparingly used and, with the exception of two *junior optimes*, is confined to Pollmen[1]. In accordance with these marks the Questionists were divided into classes before the Senate House Examination.

Mr Wordsworth in his *Scholae Academicae* (p. 37) tells us that the Respondent reads a Latin thesis on whichever of his three subjects he prefers. This is usually 'the *moral* question.' The first Opponent opposes the thesis in eight arguments of syllogistical form ; the second Opponent in five ; the third in three. Again on p. 40 : "Though about 1830 men were called upon to defend all three of the questions on their paper against a limited number of 'arguments'; it is easy to see why at the end of the previous century the third or moral question was the popular one, and, as a general rule, the only one discussed." That is, the whole of the Disputation was confined to one of the three questions, that chosen by the Respondent for his thesis, and, as a rule, the moral question. So far as I am aware there is no satisfactory evidence to support Mr Wordsworth's view. On the other hand it contradicts Jebb's statement, repeated in the *University Calendar* of 1802 and subsequent Calendars, that the Respondent had to maintain three Questions and that the Opponents had to oppose his Questions[2]. It contradicts the record of the arguments

[1] Mr Rouse Ball gives the *E* series precedence over the *a* series !

[2] In the *University Calendar* of 1802, p. xv *ad fin.* we read that the first Opponent "opposes his arguments against the question in *Syllogistical* form." Raworth's account is taken almost *verbatim* from Jebb. In the 1772 and

used by the first Opponent in a Disputation of 1782 and another of 1784, preserved in the Library of Caius College; where the first Opponent brings five arguments against the first question, two against the second, and one against the third, the *moral* question. Mr Wordsworth, who has printed both sets of arguments in full, notes the discrepancy between his own theory and the procedure in the Disputation of 1782; and notes it without a qualm (p. 371). The theory also contradicts, or at best is hard to reconcile with, other contemporary accounts or allusions. Further, if Mr Wordsworth's theory were correct, and the Disputations were almost entirely given up to moral philosophy and metaphysics, how could any one complain that such studies were neglected in the University? Yet listen to the reformer Jebb, who

1774 editions of Jebb's *Remarks* the plural is used. Did Raworth deliberately change Jebb's "Questions" to "question"? I think that the candid reader, who duly weighs the use of the plural in the preceding paragraphs and in the note to p. xvi of the Calendar, will agree with me in holding "question" to be an oversight or printer's error. If this assumption be granted, no one will be surprised that the error persisted for many years in the lengthy account of the Disputation which was reprinted without change from year to year. The description of a Disputation is omitted in the Calendar of 1804. But in 1803, and from 1805 to 1822, the reading "question" appears in the clause under discussion. From 1823 to 1838, the last year in which Disputations were held and the description occurs, we find "questions." To justify our assumption, and to allay any lurking doubt that may disturb the candid reader's mind, it will be enough to produce evidence from any one year in the series of years 1802—1822. "At the beginning of 1815," writes Mr Todhunter in his work on Whewell, "Mr Whewell was looking forward to that part of his academical exercises which was called *Keeping an Act.*" He says in a letter to his friend Mr Morland on January 3, 1815, "I have not time to explain the whole ceremony to you at present, but it consists in a person getting up into a box to defend certain mathematical and moral questions, from the bad arguments and worse Latin of three men who are turned loose into an opposite box to bait him with syllogisms." The solitary passage in the various Calendars with the reading "question" is the only evidence that I know to which Mr Wordsworth can appeal in proof of his view.

agitated (1772—1776) for the establishment of Annual Public Examinations in various branches of study: "Surely," says he, "the study of Mathematics, and of Nature's Operations should not intirely engross the youthful mind. Enquiry into metaphysical and moral truth is accompanied with numerous advantages." In the same way he complains of the neglect of Classics, History, Latin and English Composition, and so on. Indeed there were many at this time who raised their voice against the exclusive devotion to abstruse Mathematics prevalent in Cambridge. And what a cumbersome machine, on Mr Wordsworth's view, for testing the attainments of candidates and classifying them for an examination predominantly mathematical, even if we were to admit (which I do not) that Mr Wordsworth is right in stating that at the close of the Disputation the Moderator always examined the Respondent as to his mathematical knowledge! And what a strange scheme of marks, in which the same mark prefixed to the name of Respondent and Opponent bore a different value and significance! And why three Questions, if only one was discussed, and that the Question selected by the Respondent?

We will now consult Mr Rouse Ball's interesting work, *A History of the Study of Mathematics at Cambridge*. From pp. 165, 166 we extract the following information: "The first opponent was expected to urge five objections against the first of the propositions laid down by the respondent, three" [*read* two][1] "against the second, and one

[1] 5 + 3 + 1 make 9, not 8. The same oversight recurs on p. 168.

against the third....The second opponent followed, and urged three objections against the first proposition, and one against each of the others. His place was then taken by the third opponent, of whom but one argument against each question was required." The brief historical summary in which this passage occurs is followed on pp. 167—169 by a detailed description of a Disputation. On p. 168 Mr Ball says that the first Opponent "opposed the proposition laid down in the thesis in five arguments, the second question in three" [two], "and the third in one." On combining this statement with the former one, we find that the first of the propositions laid down by the Respondent was the proposition laid down in the thesis. In other words, the thesis was written on the first question. Yet on p. 167 Mr Ball rightly tells us that the Respondent "was allowed to select the question in support of which he should read his thesis." Again the first question was always a mathematical one. In 1802—1838 and, as we have some reason to believe, for many years before 1802, the third or moral question was selected as a rule by the Respondent for his thesis. All this is very puzzling. There is one thing which Mr Ball cannot possibly mean—namely that the Respondent placed first on his paper the question which he had selected for his thesis. Such a statement would be at odds with the facts just mentioned and with Carr's thesis in 1782, quoted by Mr Ball on p. 169. The heading sets out Carr's three questions, the first two mathematical, the third moral: and the thesis is "De postrema," on the moral question. It is hard to repress a suspicion

that Mr Ball, who saw clearly that Mr Wordsworth's view was untenable, merely modified, instead of discarding it. However that may be, at least 9 out of the 16 arguments adduced by the three Opponents had, according to Mr Ball, to deal with the question selected by the Respondent for his thesis : and therefore the Respondent to a large extent determined the general character of the Disputation.

Mr Ball lays it down as a hard and fast rule that the first Opponent brought five arguments against the first question, two against the second, and one against the third. The rule is no doubt deduced from the record of Wollaston's arguments as first Opponent in 1782 and of Watson's in 1785. Both documents are given in full by Mr Wordsworth (*Sch. Ac.* 368 ff.), the second by Mr Ball (174 ff.). But among the other documents in Caius Library there is a set of eight Arguments, presumably those of a first Opponent, in which four arguments are brought against the first question, three against the second, and one against the third. And there is another set of eight Arguments in which four objections are urged against the first question, two against the second, and two against the moral question. Further, if Mr Ball's rule had been a rigid one, we should almost certainly have heard of it in the Calendar of 1802. The truth seems to be that the first Opponent was at liberty to distribute his eight Arguments against the three Questions as he pleased, with the proviso that he must not pass over any one of the three Questions. In practice the Opponents concentrated their efforts on the mathematical questions. That was inevit-

able, because it paid best. The Moderators were mathematicians, and what Jebb says of the Senate House Examination, "as the highest Academical Distinctions are invariably given to the best proficients in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, a very superficial knowledge in Morality and Metaphysics will suffice," was equally true of the Disputations. No doubt a few of the Students expended more ammunition than was usual on the moral question. At least two of the documents in Caius seem to indicate that this was the case. Perhaps the Moderators' Book of 1778 may help us to form a notion of the percentage of such cases. Out of 99 sets of questions, 91 are normal, i.e. the first two questions are mathematical, the third moral. In 8 sets the first is mathematical, but the second as well as the third is moral[1]. What we have said of the first Opponent will apply *mutatis mutandis* to the second. The third had no choice.

We are now nearing our goal. The Respondent's Latin declamation or thesis and the statements which it contained had no influence whatever on the procedure of his Opponents or on the ensuing Disputation. Let us take a normal case of a first Opponent, omitting details. On receiving from the Moderator the Paper of three Questions which he had to oppose, he set to work and begged, borrowed, bought, or invented his Arguments. Seven, or it might be six, of his Arguments were directed against the two mathematical questions: one, perhaps two, against the moral question. It made no difference to him whether he knew or did not know which of

[1] In 1762 Paley kept an Act on one mathematical and two moral questions.

the three questions had been selected by the Respondent for his thesis. He determined of his own choice how many arguments he should allot to each question. After constructing his syllogisms at leisure, he wrote them out, and took the manuscript with him to the Schools on the day of the Act.

In contemporary allusions to the Disputations we hear little or nothing of the thesis. This silence accords with the subordinate position which the thesis occupied. From the Calendars of 1802 to 1838 we learn that the thesis was usually on the moral question. As to the time preceding 1802 we have hardly any evidence: but such indications as we possess point to the moral question as the usual subject of the thesis. We know indirectly that in 1750 Richard Cumberland composed a thesis on a mathematical subject ; for he was allowed to propose three mathematical questions, though only after a long tussle with the Junior Moderator, who demanded that the third question should be metaphysical. But Cumberland's case was altogether exceptional. By Grace of 24 Jan. 1766, it was ordained that every Respondent should hand to the Moderator a written copy of his thesis, and that one or two of the best should be printed at the end of each term at the costs of the University. How far this order was carried out I do not know, and there are no records at the University Press to show. Naturally I had recourse to Mr Bowes' *Catalogue of Cambridge Books*. No. 585 was the only one which gave any promise. Mr Bowes kindly furnished the name of the present owner, who of course turned out to be Mr J. W. Clark. The tract is obviously

a thesis and was delivered on 29 Oct. 1766. The title runs: *Oratio Habita In Scholis Philosophicis Quarto Kalendas Novembres A Ricardo Raikes, Coll. Joan. Alumno*... M.DCC.LXVII. The thesis, comprising about 750 words, is on a moral question: *Monomachia in Republica benè constituta admitti non debet.* Its author was 10th Wrangler and Senior Chancellor's Medallist in 1767; also Fellow of St John's. Mr Ball (p. 169) refers us to the thesis read on 25 Feb. 1782, by Carr of Jesus, of which the manuscript handed to the Moderator is preserved in the Library of Trinity College. It too is on the moral question: *Origo mali moralis solvi potest salvis Dei attributis.*

The second set of verses in the Tripos at the *Comitia Priora* of 1783 has for its theme a Soph who, after idling away his first two years, abandons riding, boating, festive gatherings, and all care for his toilet in view of the approaching ordeal, and shuts himself up to pore over Algebra, Newton, Euclid, and Locke. Then comes the Disputation and finally the Senate House Examination. The lines which describe the Disputation shall serve as our colophon:

> Interea series en! accumulata laborum!
> Lictor[1] adest responsa jubens tortumve sophisma[2].
> Protinus attonitum gelidus tremor ingruit: ora
> Pallent, deinde rubent: spes et formido vicissim
> Exagitant mentem tumidam. Nunc denuò versat
> Newtonum; quævis ratio ut vanescat, et ortus
> Qui sit nascenti[3], varietque ut linea quævis,

[1] The Proctor's man. The Moderator was a deputy Proctor.

[2] The summons to appear as Respondent (*responsa*) or Opponent (*tortum sophisma*. Cf. line 8).

[3] Newton, Bk. I. sect. 1.

Et quo securus fictum velamine obumbret,
Intentus. Nec plura ; libris convivia sueta[1]
Abripiunt ; comptisque comis, atque ore retonso,
Doctorum instituit coetum celebrare Sophorum.
Hinc jocus et clamor, procul hinc tyronis inane
Colloquium : si quis modò longa silentia rumpat,
Argumenta, gradus, problemata continuo ore
Proruit. His cedunt calices, et numen Iacchi.
Jamque dies adiit ; medio ut sol vergit ab orbe[2],
Dira palæstra patet. Quantâ formidine rostrum,
Quanto ardore petunt certamen inire parati
Heroes ! Rapido contendunt flumine linguæ :
Mirificisque modis certant mendacia vero.

II

Mr Rouse Ball (p. 194) in his account of the Senate House Examination writes as follows : " The only papers of this date which as far as I know are now extant are one of the problem papers set in 1785 and one of those set in 1786. These were composed by William Hodson of Trinity (seventh wrangler in 1764 and vice-master of the college from 1789 to 1793), who was then proctor. The autograph copies from which he gave out the questions were luckily preserved, and have recently been placed in the library of Trinity." The two papers are printed by Mr Ball in full.

The Senate House Examination was held in January. Hodson and Arnold were appointed Proctors on 10 October 1785. Hodson was therefore Senior Proctor in January 1786. He was not Proctor in January 1785. He was neither Mode-

[1] For the parties at which the Disputants entertained one another see Wordsworth, *Sch. Ac.* p. 36.

[2] In 1783 the Disputations began a little before 2 p.m.

rator nor Examiner in 1785. How then could he set a Problem paper in that year?

There is a strong likeness between the two papers, both in the nature and arrangement of the questions. The likeness is evidently the result of design. Hence it is probable that both papers were set in one year; improbable that they were set in two consecutive years.

Of Paper II there are two copies. At the end of one of them are the words "Proctors Problems 1786," in the same hand, though the writing is smaller, as the 12 questions of which the Paper consists. The words were probably a subsequent addition, as the ink seems to be of a different colour.

To Paper I, consisting of 10 questions, the date 1786 is appended in the abbreviated form "86." It stands under the diagram at the end, and the diagram stands in the centre of the page. The figures are Hodson's, as we may gather from the figure 8, which Hodson formed in a peculiar manner.

Whether the first Paper was set to Classes I and II, and the second to Classes III and IV, or whether the first was set to Class I and the second to Class II, or whether some other explanation is preferable, is a point which we may leave Mathematicians to decide. The grouping of the Classes in the Senate House Examination is a matter about which we know very little. Jebb's words seem to imply that in 1774 each class was examined separately, both in the oral examination (*Remarks*, p. 26), and in the Problems (p. 27: "When the Division," a synonym for Class,

"under Examination is one of the higher Classes, Problems are also proposed with which the Student retires to a distant part of the Senate House, and returns, with his Solution upon Paper, to the Moderator"). And apparently the same system, at all events in the oral examination, was in force in 1779 (Grace of 20 March 1779). In Gunning's year, 1788, the first two classes took the Evening Problems in the Moderators' rooms, which were harder than those set in the Senate House. The arrangements of 1802 are set out in the Calendar for that year.

The two Moderators were an ancient institution. In 1786 they were still nominated by the Proctors, and they were appointed Deputy Proctors at the same time that they were appointed Moderators. They were acting as the Proctors' Substitutes when they superintended the Disputations of the Sophs, and as their coadjutors in the examination for the B.A. degree. Accordingly, the list of honours and passes was drawn up by the Proctors, Moderators, and Examiners. The Grace of 20 March 1779, which raised the number of examiners to four, viz. the two Moderators of the year and the two Moderators of the preceding year, commences: "Placeat vobis ut moderatores pro tempore existentes et moderatores anni præcedentis constituantur examinatores una cum dominis procuratoribus pro gradu baccalaureatus in artibus." And this formula, *unà cum Dominis Procuratoribus*, is used each year in the Grace by which the same two persons, already appointed *Moderatores in Scholis Publicis Sophistarum et Baccalaureorum*, are further constituted *Examinatores Quaestionistarum*. In the *University Calendar*

of 1804 the Examination Papers are headed "The Senate House Problems By the Senior Proctor and the two Moderators." The first Paper is "Questions for all the Classes, By Mr Renouard, *Senior Proctor*," and that is the only Paper which he set. The formula in the Grace was retained long after the Proctors had ceased to take any part in the Examination.

G. CHAWNER.

THE AUDITORS OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

Among the many appointments which have been held by the Scholar whom we honour in this volume of essays is that of Auditor of the accounts of Trinity College; and it may be that the work done in connection with it has given him as much pleasure as that of more important offices. Like him, some of his predecessors have played an important part in their generation, and I rescue from dusty volumes their names and a brief record of their services.

There is no reference in the College Statutes of 1552 to the Auditor, but the accounts of 1546—7 and later show that the office existed. Definite regulations for the appointment were proposed in the draft Statutes of 1554, and were embodied in the Statutes of 1560. By these the Auditor was made one of the statutable Officers of the College: the post was held for long periods under letters-patent, and the duties could not be performed by proxy. The statute in question was re-enacted in 1844. By the Statutes of 1861 the

office was made annual, and tenable only during pleasure. It remains annual under the present Statutes, but a definite proviso was inserted in 1882 that it is not tenable by a Fellow or Officer of the College, and a clause was introduced providing for the appointment from among the Fellows of an Assessor or Assessors who should be present during the audit.

From the beginning the financial year of the College ran from Michaelmas to Michaelmas, and the audit of each year was concluded in the following December. The annual honorarium of the Auditor in at any rate some of the earliest years was £10, with an allowance of £2 for travelling expenses, stationery, etc., but before the end of the sixteenth century it had been fixed at £5, with an augmentation of £3. 6*s*. 8*d*. and some allowances.

The form of the *declaratio computi* was much as at present, and generally, with but small variations, it takes the form now stereotyped "and so the said A. B. Senior (or Junior) Bursar upon the foot of this his account for one whole year ending at Michaelmas....oweth unto the College the sum of...." In some cases, and notably in the seventeenth century, the sums include fractions of a penny, even as small as one thirty-second part thereof. Presumably the audit was always followed by a feast, as still remains the custom.

Of the occupants of the office from 1546 to 1618 the information in the College books is incomplete. The only Auditors previous to 1618 whose names I have noticed there, with the years

in which they held office, are Edward Burnell, 1553, 1561, 1563, and 1564; Adam Winthrop, 1606; and Richard Brooke, 1614. I have not, however, read the account-books through from cover to cover, and it may be that there are references which have escaped me. Luckily Winthrop's diary and some memoranda from 1595 to 1621 are extant, and contain references to a few earlier dates. From these we can take back our record to the year ending Michaelmas 1593, when he was Auditor. He resigned in 1610, and was succeeded by Brooke. Brooke was acting in 1615, had commons in 1616, and I have no doubt acted in 1617. From 1618 onwards we can, from one College book or another, make out the names of those who held the office. The handwritings of the earlier Auditors have marked characteristics. They suggest that there was one Auditor from 1547 to 1552, another from 1553 to 1578, who must have been Edward Burnell, another from 1579 to 1591, and another from 1592 to 1609, who must have been Adam Winthrop. But I present these as mere surmises, and I do not attempt to go back beyond 1593.

Our roll then is as follows. From 1547 to 1592 we cannot definitely say more than that Edward Burnell was Auditor for a period which included the years from 1553 to 1564, for no doubt his tenure was unbroken. From 1593 the sequence is as follows. Adam Winthrop, 1593 (or earlier)—1609; Richard Brooke, 1610—1617; Robert Spicer, 1618—1628; Francis Hughes, 1629—1668; Samuel Newton, 1669—1717,

Newton resigned in 1674, and thereon he and William Ellis were appointed to the office, with remainder to the survivor of them, but apparently William Ellis never acted; Denys L'Isle, 1718—1726; William Greaves, 1727—1778; Robert Graham, 1779—1791; Samuel Knight, 1792—1811; Nicholas Conyngham Tindal, 1812—1825; James Parke, 1826—1828; Andrew Amos, 1829—1836; John George Shaw-Lefevre, 1837—1851; George Denman, 1852—1862; George Valentine Yool, 1863—1869; Augustus Arthur VanSittart, 1870—1881; John Willis Clark, 1882—1908. The dates given indicate the ends of the audit years: thus the audit of 1669 was for the year 1668—1669. It will be noticed that during these 316 years there have been, if we omit William Ellis, only 17 Auditors, showing an average tenure of more than 18 years. Of these 17 Auditors at least 11 have been lawyers and 4 ultimately rose to the Bench.

I add a few notes on the Auditors. Of Edward Burnell, the earliest Auditor whose name I have given, I know nothing.

His successor Adam Winthrop, 1548—1623, the son of a prominent London merchant and reformer, had been admitted as a fellow-commoner at Magdalene in 1567, but had left the University without a degree. He had been called to the Bar, but did not practise, and was content to fill the role of a well-to-do country squire. He was an intimate friend of Still, Master of Trinity from 1577 to 1593, whose sister he married in 1574, and whose wife was his connection by marriage.

I conjecture that he owed the office to Still's influence. Winthrop was a fair scholar, an indifferent poet, and somewhat of a pedant. His tomb with a long inscription, headed by Coelum Patria Christus Via, is at Groton, Suffolk. More than one of his descendants were distinguished. In particular his son, John, 1588—1649, who was admitted to Trinity College in 1602, was the founder of the well-known American family of this name; and his great-great-grandson, Sir George Downing, was the founder of Downing College.

Winthrop seems to have done the whole of the audit work at the end of the Michaelmas Term of each year. Thus in 1601 he writes "The ivth of Decemb. I ridde to Cambridge & beganne the Auditt the 7th beinge Monday. The xiiijth of Decembre I returned from the Auditt & did see the Sonne in the Eclips about 12 of the Clock at noone." Perhaps his resignation was made at the suggestion of the College, for early in 1610 he writes, "Mr Dr Meriton came to speake wth me about the resignation of my office in Trinity College to Mr Brookes... I surrendered my Auditorship in Trinitye College to the Mr. fellowes & schollers before a pub. notary.... I dyned at Dr Meriton's in Hadley & received of him xxlb for my Auditorshippe.... Mr Rich. Brooke the nue Auditor of Trinity College was at my house in Groton to whom I dd. divers paper books & Roles touchinge his Office."

Of the next three Auditors I can discover very little. Richard Brooke was appointed in 1610. The following conclusion of June 8, 1615, seems

to refer to him "concluded that Mr Brookes in regard of his paines taken divers times for the Colledge that he shoulde....have given him Twentye pounds," and during his visits in the following year be allowed commons. We may assume that he held office till the end of 1617. A Richard Brookes had entered at Queens' as a fellow-commoner in 1587, but whether he was the subsequent Auditor there is nothing to show. In 1618 we have the copy of the appointment of Robert Spicer. He held office till the end of 1628, since a conclusion of June 3, 1629, appointed in his place Francis Hughes. Hughes, who held the office till his death in 1669, was admitted a scholar in 1616, took his M.A. in 1623, was one of the Esquire Bedells, and occupied rooms in College at the time of his death.

The next occupant of the office was Samuel Newton, 1629—1717, a prominent attorney in the town and mayor in 1671. He was not a member of the University. His diary from 1662 to 1717, preserved in the library of Downing College, contains an account of his election to the post of Auditor in the chapel by the Master and Seniors; he being present in the ante-chapel. He attended the chapel the next day in his gown, was sworn to the faithful discharge of his duties, and signed the roll of College Officers. He proved a most efficient officer. For his services in 1667 he received the then customary fee of £5 and augmentation of £3. 6*s.* 8*d.*; a sum of £6. 13*s.* 4*d.* for engrossing the audit rolls which henceforth were kept excellently; a sum of £1 for preparing a

book of arrears; and a sum of £1. 2*s*. 8*d*. for stationery. He also received from the Junior Bursar, billets of wood of the value of 6*s*. 8*d*.; from the Steward, a "warp of lyng" of the value of 6*s*. 8*d*.; from the Manciple, a "coller of brawne, also a dish of wild fowle or 6*s*. 8*d*."; and from the brewhouse, "2 barrells of strong beere."

In 1674 Newton surrendered his patent of appointment as Auditor, but he was immediately reappointed jointly with his cousin William Ellis, with remainder to the survivor of them. They were at the same time appointed on the same conditions to the office of College Registrar, then vacant by the death of a Mr T. Griffith. According to Newton's diary, William Ellis took his M.A. in 1670, but his name does not appear in the list of graduati, unless indeed he is the Wm. Ellis who received the degree *per lit. reg.* in 1671. The College account books continued to be signed by Newton, and I have not noticed in them evidence that Ellis ever took any part in the audit. The College Solicitors and Attorneys have frequently acted as Registrars, and it may be that Ellis was partner with Newton, and was for that reason made with him joint Auditor and Registrar.

Samuel Newton died in 1718 in his 90th year. For the three years, 1715, 1716, and 1717, the books were audited by John Newton, presumably his son or grandson, as his deputy. No doubt the arrangement was made in consequence of the failing health of the old gentleman whose signature in 1714 was very shaky. The appointment of a deputy was invalid under the statute, but it must

have been made with the approval of Bentley, and perhaps of the Seniority. At any rate John Newton conducted the audit, and signed the books as Deputy Auditor.

Newton was succeeded in 1718 as Auditor and Registrar by Denys L'Isle. L'Isle had been a fellow-commoner of Trinity Hall, admitted in 1712, graduated as LL.B. in 1715, who had gone down and in 1716 taken his name off the books. He was a vigorous and not too scrupulous barrister. No doubt he owed his appointment to Bentley, for he showed "extraordinary activity and zeal in promoting all" Bentley's "wishes and interests," and represented him in some of his disputes.

Whatever view may be taken of Bentley's character, no one can justify his conduct in regard to the College finances. A notable scandal occurred in the audit of 1722. In the accounts of that year large sums were charged to the College for works at the Lodge and other sums spent by the Master which had not been sanctioned by the College. Undoubtedly the charges were illegal, but Bentley and L'Isle refused to allow the accounts to be examined by the Seniority. In fact L'Isle had no scruple in screening Bentley from the consequences of acts which were neither legal nor honourable, and unfortunately it is not impossible that he was appointed Auditor for that reason.

L'Isle died in 1727, and was succeeded as Auditor, Steward of the Courts, and Registrar by William Greaves. Greaves had in 1719 migrated to Cambridge from Brazenose, Oxford; he took his B.A. in 1720, and in 1722 was elected at Clare to

a fellowship which he held till 1742. He was a barrister and an able man : he too owed his office to Bentley, and acted as his Counsel in many of his tortuous proceedings. On Bentley's recommendation Greaves had in 1726 been made, by the Duke of Somerset, Commissary of the University, an office which he held till 1778. The patents to the office of College Auditor were made out for the term of his life, but a question having been raised as to whether this was statutable, he surrendered them, and the College granted new patents for the term of fifty years if he should live so long. I suppose he was duly admitted to the office, for probably an acute lawyer would have seen to this, but there is no record of the fact in the College books.

Greaves seems to have performed the duties of his office in an honourable manner. He surrendered the patents after the audit of 1778, a few days before their expiration. He then received a present of plate from the College, with their thanks for his long and faithful services. Six years later he made a donation to the Society of £100 to found an annual prize for an essay on the character of King William the Third. After nearly a century it was said that the essayists had exhausted the subject, and in 1882 the College got leave to substitute for it one connected with the history of the British Empire.

Robert Graham, 1744—1836, a lawyer of note, succeeded Greaves. Graham had graduated as third wrangler in 1766, and in the following year had been elected to a fellowship. He held the office till after the audit of 1791. He was made a Baron of the Exchequer in 1799, and proved a singularly

inefficient judge. He retired from the Bench in 1827.

Graham's chief distinction is said to have been his urbanity, and at the Bar it was currently believed that no one but his sempstress had power to ruffle his equanimity. He was somewhat pompous, and an adventure of his at the assizes at Newcastle afforded much amusement to his contemporaries. There on one occasion just before charging the grand jury, he tumbled, unnoticed, from the garden of the house where he was lodged into the river, but luckily was hauled out by some passing watermen. The rough remedies of the quay-side failed to restore consciousness, and the bystanders, supposing he was drowned, carted him to a dead-house, where he was stripped and laid out. The Coroner's jury, summoned with unusual celerity, had viewed the body, and were considering their verdict when, to their surprise, he showed signs of life and came to himself. His position was not altogether dignified, but he realized at once that it is always incumbent on a judge to move in state, and he was fetched from the mortuary in the Sheriff's carriage, with the trumpeters and usual ceremonial.

Of Graham's successor, Samuel Knight, 1755—1829, I know little. He had been admitted as a pensioner in 1772, became a fellow-commoner in 1774, and graduated in the poll in 1776. He was not a lawyer, nor apparently had he any special qualifications for the post beyond being a pleasant member of society. He resigned in 1812, and died in 1829.

After Knight's resignation the post was offered

to Nicholas Conyngham Tindal, 1776—1846, a lawyer of distinction. He had graduated in 1799 as 8th wrangler, was a Chancellor's Medalist, and had been elected to a fellowship in 1801, which, as he did not take orders, he had vacated in due course in accordance with the provisions of the Elizabethan Statutes. The plan of offering the post to a distinguished Past Fellow now became the custom, and all the Auditors hereafter mentioned have been Past Fellows of the College.

Tindal was one of the Counsel for Queen Caroline; he is celebrated in the history of the courts for having secured to a criminal client the right of wager of battle, which had long fallen into disuse but had not been abolished by statute. He was member for the University from 1827 to 1829 when he was made Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; he held that office till his death in 1846. Though not specially successful as an advocate, he had a profound knowledge of law and was an excellent judge. His enormous dimensions are commemorated in a print with the inscription "Judges of A Size" representing him standing by Joshua Williams, one of his colleagues on assize, who was very diminutive: but probably this is an ancient joke.

The next Auditor was James Parke, 1782—1868, a lawyer of even greater distinction. He had graduated in 1803 as 5th wrangler, and had been Craven Scholar, Browne's Medalist and Chancellor's Medalist. In 1804 he had been elected to a fellowship. He was one of the Counsel briefed against Queen Caroline. He was made a judge in 1828,

and of course then resigned the office of Auditor, which he thus held for only three years.

Parke had a profound knowledge of the Common Law, and admired, and was a rigid adherent of, ancient forms and customs. The fact was well known, and led to a curious scene, when on one occasion, while giving an opinion, he fainted. Cold water and smelling salts were applied without success, whereon a colleague brought from an adjacent room an ancient volume of reports, black with the dust of ages, and banged it under the nostrils of the judge. It may have been a coincidence, but Parke at once revived, and in a few minutes was able to proceed with the business in hand.

At one time when Parke was trying a criminal case the prisoner confessed his crime to his advocate, who thereupon (most improperly) acquainted the judge with the fact and asked his advice. Parke rebuked the barrister for informing him of the prisoner's guilt, but added that counsel was not the less bound to defend his client to the best of his ability. The case has been often cited, and states the practice of the bar: it being of course assumed that nothing is said or done which an honourable man might not say or do.

Parke's subsequent career served to settle a constitutional question of great importance. In 1856 he was created Baron Wensleydale with a life peerage. It was decided that the power of the Crown to create life peerages had been lost by disuse. He was then made a baron with the usual remainder in tail male.

Parke was followed as Auditor by Andrew Amos,

1791—1860, also a lawyer of distinction. He had graduated as 5th wrangler in 1813, and in 1815 had been elected to a fellowship. He was appointed Auditor in 1829. He had a large arbitration practice in London, acted on the Criminal Law Commission, and was Professor of English Law in London. In 1837 he was appointed legal member of the Indian Council, and of course on his departure for the East had to resign his office in the College. On the first vacancy after his return to England, he was, in 1848, elected Downing Professor of Laws in Cambridge, and occupied the chair until his death.

Amos was succeeded by JOHN GEORGE SHAW-LEFEVRE, 1797—1879. Shaw-Lefevre had been senior wrangler and first Smith's prizeman in 1818, and had been elected to a fellowship in the following year. Like his predecessors he was a barrister, but most of his time was taken up with duties connected with public departments. He settled the county divisions under the Reform Act of 1832, and was a member of numerous Commissions, notably those connected with compensation for the abolition of slavery, for the Poor Law Act, for the creation of South Australia, for ecclesiastical affairs, and for the Indian Civil Service. He stood unsuccessfully for parliament in the University contest of 1847. Till 1875 he was busily engaged in public affairs. He resigned the auditorship after the audit of 1851.

The next Auditor was the HON. GEORGE DENMAN, 1819—1896, also a lawyer. Denman had been senior classic in 1842, and had been elected

to a fellowship in the following year. He had always kept up his connection with the College, where he had numerous friends and was very popular. He became Auditor in 1852. Like his predecessor he stood unsuccessfully for parliament as a representative of the University: this was in 1856. Subsequently he was appointed Counsel to the University. He entered parliament in 1859, and owing to press of work gave up his College office at the close of the audit of 1862. After a distinguished legal career he was raised in 1872 to the Bench. He was a good scholar, had a fine presence, and to the end of his life was popular with all classes of University society.

If I may trust my memory Denman told me that among his perquisites as Auditor was a case of audit ale, and that on one occasion he gave the case to Livingstone who he knew would appreciate it. The case travelled with the explorer through Africa, and as long as the ale lasted glasses of it were circulated, to the great satisfaction of the natives, whenever solemn treaties were ratified.

The next holder of the office was George Valentine Yool, 1829—1897, a chancery barrister, who had been third wrangler and second Smith's prizeman in 1851, and had been elected to a fellowship in 1853. Yool took but little part in public affairs. He was appointed Auditor in 1863, and gave up the office at the end of 1869.

After Yool's resignation the College reverted to its former practice, and appointed as Auditor a resident, Augustus Arthur VanSittart. VanSittart had been bracketed senior classic in

1847, and had been elected to a fellowship in the following year. After once standing unsuccessfully for parliament, he devoted himself to literary work, and among other things collected and collated the various readings of the New Testament. His annual speech at the audit feast, wherein he gave a witty sketch of the more interesting developments of University and College life during the preceding year, was one of the features of the time, and served somewhat the same purpose as the Tripos Verses of earlier ages. He held the office till his death in the spring of 1882. He was wealthy, and a most generous benefactor of the Fitzwilliam Museum and other Cambridge institutions.

On VanSittart's death the post of Auditor was offered by the College to our friend John Willis Clark, whose services to Cambridge and whose many interests are universally recognised. Long may he live and prosper!

W. W. Rouse Ball.

THE WINDOWS OF LITTLE S. MARY'S

THE origin of the Parish of Little S. Mary's or, as it was known before the building of the present Church, of S. Peter's without Trumpington Gates is lost in obscurity. The earliest reference to it seems to be in a judicial record of 1194[1], but this record carries the parish back to the days of the conquest at least, and the one fragment of the old Church which still remains—the arch now used as a doorway—belongs to that or even an earlier time. Of the history of the old Church, beyond the fact of its appropriation to the Hospital of John and afterwards, at the date of the foundation of the College, to the Master and Fellows of Peterhouse, nothing seems to be known till about 1350 when it had become so dilapidated or even ruinous that it was unfit for the conduct of divine service. The old Church was not restored. The builders of the middle ages had far nobler ideals than merely to restore what had been before. The golden age of the Christian is not in the past but in the future. Medieval builders looked forward to such an age. When an old building collapsed

[1] Quoted in Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, vol. I. p. 29.

it simply opened the way to advance. Out of the destruction there was to rise something grander and more worthy than what had gone before. Illustrations of this are not far to seek. When the central Norman Tower of Ely collapsed and destroyed the Choir, they were not rebuilt, but by the genius of Alan de Walsingham replaced by the wonderful Octagon and Choir which remain to-day, the glory of the wide fen-land. So it was in Cambridge. On the ruins of the old Church there arose the Choir of a new Church—the Choir which, with one bay added at the west, still remains at once a monument of the artistic genius of the builders of the fourteenth century and a witness that, even in those days, men entered on ambitious schemes which they were not always able to finish.

The Choir was completed in 1352 and on the morrow of All Souls in that year was duly consecrated to the Blessed Virgin by Thomas de Insula, Bishop of Ely. It has since been known as Little S. Mary's or S. Mary's the Less to distinguish it from the other Church dedicated to the Virgin—Great S. Mary's or S. Mary's by the Market. It was built at the time when Medieval Architecture, at least in the matter of windows, was at the height of its glory, and of the many glorious windows produced in that age, few, if any, are more glorious than those of S. Mary's. The stone-work of some—the East window and those on the north side—remain, except for the matter of necessary repair, in their original conditions. Those on the south side are modern copies, but very good copies dating

from the restoration of forty years ago. In the matter of windows we may be quite satisfied that, with the exception of the most western on the north side which has been made to match the windows on the same side and not the window opposite, the Church is as it was in olden days.

But windows are more than stone-work. The skill of the stone-carver by producing wonderful traceries opens the way for the exercise of the art of the glazier. Windows in the middle ages were made to hold glass, not a merely transparent substance good at letting through abundance of light, but glass of wonderful colouring and marvellous design. We can learn something of the glory of ancient glass in King's Chapel, by a visit to York Minster, or perhaps even better by gazing at the old Dutch glass which Cosin brought from Holland to adorn the East end of the then recently built Chapel of Peterhouse. The windows of S. Mary's like those of other Churches were filled with stained glass. Of the character of the glass we have no records. A few small fragments remain and have been placed in one of the windows on the north side. The rest was destroyed. In his Journal William Dowsing records that he and his companions visited the Church on Dec. 29 and 30, 1643, and did their usual work. "We brake down," he says, "sixty superstitious pictures, some popes and crucyfyxes, and God the father sitting in a chayer and holding a glasse in his hand." But this was not all. Seven years later the commissioners for "providing maintenance for preaching ministers" advised that the Parish should be joined

to S. Botolph's[1] as that was "the fitter Church," and then S. Mary's would either have been destroyed or left to fall to desolation.

Such records fill us with amazement. We sympathise to the full with the thought of the middle ages, that all that is noblest and best in human art should be dedicated to the service of God, that plainness and ugliness are not in themselves signs of holiness, that the deepest and sincerest worship, worship in spirit and in truth, may and should express itself in forms of beauty, that there is no contradiction between such worship and a stern puritan standard of morals. And yet we cannot know much of the world, either as it exists to-day or as it has existed in the past, without recognising that the beauty of expression either in architecture, painting or music, which should be the handmaid of righteousness and religion, may easily fall from its high place and become their enemy. We mourn over the defaced carvings and the empty niches of our great cathedrals but we cannot fail to sympathise with the men of the 16th and 17th centuries who were driven on in the work of destruction by a real, if a narrow, zeal for righteousness—men who, like Milton in his earlier days, could be filled with the beauty of a great building or ravished with the music at King's or Ely, but who were driven by the stern realities of their time to take their part in the work of iconoclasm.

Puritan iconoclasm has passed away. Our Churches have been brought back to something of

[1] Cooper's *Annals*, III. p. 438.

their ancient glory and beauty. S. Mary's has not been neglected. The work of restoring the fabric, carried out forty years ago, has been already mentioned. The work of filling the windows with coloured glass has made some progress in more recent times. In connection with this the name of our late churchwarden will ever be remembered. James Hamblin Smith after graduating from Gonville and Caius College in 1850 became widely known to several generations of boys and girls as the author of text-books on Arithmetic and kindred subjects: in the University he was known as the great coach who guided countless undergraduates safely on the way to their degrees: in the parish he was known as the faithful church-warden who held that office from his election in 1867 till the day of his death in 1901[1]. It was during these years that the work of replacing the glass was begun. The beginning of it was due to Mr Smith's own generosity. It was at his cost that the great East window was filled. The inscription which it bears explains the object of it. The window was dedicated "In praise of the Holy Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in loving memory of James Hamblin Smith, M.A. of Peterhouse, who died Oct. 2, 1887, and Lilian Hamblin Smith who died June 2, 1867, James Hamblin Smith and Ellen Hales Smith dedicate this window." Of the children here referred to one died in infancy, the other a few years after he

[1] It may be worth noting that while Mr Smith held the office for 34 years, his predecessor Mr George Salmon held it for 31.

had been ordained and become a Minor Canon of Rochester.

The glass is the work of the late C. E. Kempe. Mr Kempe seems to have felt that here he had an opportunity such as seldom fell to him, and put forth his very best powers to produce glass worthy of the place it was to occupy. I am not going to attempt any criticism of the artistic side of the work. The window is much more than a mere work of art, or rather it is what the highest art always ought to be, full of spiritual meaning for those who have the eyes to see and the ears to hear.

The subject of the window is the Incarnation—the Incarnation as prepared for during the ages that went before, as accomplished in the Holy Child, as the message of salvation to mankind proclaimed by the Church throughout the ages that follow. The treatment of the subject is peculiar. This was necessitated by the form of the window. It consists really of two complete windows of three lights each brought together and surmounted by a quadrangular space bounded by the two insides curves and the continuations of the outsides curves. This space is filled with the richest tracery. The subject is accordingly divided into two. The figure of the Virgin is placed in the centre of the three lights on the south and that of Gabriel in the corresponding position on the north. The figure of the Virgin is peculiarly beautiful, and will repay careful study. By her side is the usual symbol of the Lily, signifying

Purity, and over her head is seen the Holy Ghost descending in the form of a dove. The words "Ave Maria Gratia Plena" are on a scroll below the dove and over the Virgin's head. They are the opening words of the salutation of the Angel as recorded by S. Luke with the word "Maria" added—an addition that seems to have been made when the phrase came into common use as a response in the services of the Church. The Angel and the Virgin are facing one another, and the former carries in his hand a standard on which the words of the salutation are again inscribed. These figures are much the largest in the window: they are surmounted by elaborate canopies and stand on pedestals which correspond to each other and bear Angels playing instruments of music. Underneath the Angel are the words in which S. John describes the Incarnation, "The Word became flesh, and dwelt among us" and beneath the Virgin the petition from the Litany, "By the mystery of Thy Holy Incarnation, Good Lord, deliver us."

The other four lights are filled with three ranges of Angels under canopies. Those in the upper range are playing instruments of music—trumpeting the message of the Incarnation to the world. In the middle range the Angels are in adoration before Lecterns and carry scrolls with the words "Magnificat anima mea Dominum et exultavit spiritus meus in Deo salutari meo." In the lower range the scrolls have the inscription "Quia respexit humilitatem ancillae suae, Ecce enim ex hoc beatam me dicent omnes generationes:

Quia fecit mihi magna qui potens est et sanctum Nomen ejus." These inscriptions, which in each case read across the window, form the first three verses of the Magnificat, the song which expressed the triumph of Mary in the midst of all her trials, the song which the Church has sung at Evensong from early days expressive of her conviction of the ultimate triumph of righteousness and the destruction of all that opposes the ways of God.

At the top of the tracery in the centre of the north half of the window is a figure of Isaiah bearing the inscription "Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium"—"Behold a Virgin shall conceive and bear a son," and on the corresponding position on the south side a figure of David with the inscription "Ipse invocavit me, Tu es Pater meus"—"He shall call me, Thou art my Father." These two figures represent the preparation for the Incarnation by type and prophecy. The inscriptions have for many centuries been closely connected with the services of Christmas. The first, taken from Isaiah vii. 14, occurred in one of the Lections at Vespers in the second week in Advent in the middle ages and now forms part of our First Morning Lesson. The second, from Ps. lxxxix. 27, was the Antiphon sung at the beginning and ending of that Psalm at Mattins on that day—a Psalm that is still sung as one of our Proper Psalms for Christmas Evensong.

The two inscriptions are the complement of each other. The words from Isaiah describe our Lord as very man—"Man of the substance of His mother, born in the World": those from the Psalm

as very God—"God of the substance of His Father begotten before the worlds." Beneath these figures are a row of Angels with scrolls bearing the song of the Church in honour of the accomplished fact:

> "Gloria tibi Domine.
> Qui natus es de Virgine,
> Cum Patre et Sancto Spiritu
> In sempiterna saecula."

This is the form of the Gloria sung at the end of the old Office Hymns for Christmas and the Annunciation. It still stands in our Hymn Books, as may be seen by looking up the complete edition of Hymns A. and M. 57, which is the old Mattins Hymn for Christmas.

At the top of the quadrangular space already referred to is a representation of the Virgin crowned, with the Holy Child in her arms, thus shewing the fulfilment of the type and prophecy, of the Angel's message represented below, and the reality of the fact on which the worship of the Church is based. Beneath is the monogram I. H. S.—Jesus Hominum Salvator, Jesus Saviour of mankind—under a crown. The other openings of this part are filled with Angels swinging censers, and the remaining minor lights contain foliage and shields with the monogram M. R.—Maria Regina.

Two small spaces, one above the picture of the Virgin and the other over the Angel Gabriel, give to the window something of those local and personal touches which add such living interest to so much medieval work and teach that the Church in all lands and throughout all ages is vitally one united in the common worship of her Lord, de-

voted to the one work, the salvation of men. The local touch is in the shield over the Virgin which contains the Arms of the See of Ely, the personal is the one over the Angel which contains the monogram A. E. T., the initials of the foreman under whose direction the glass was made.

I have dwelt somewhat long on this wonderful window, the other two are much simpler and call for less notice. The first thing that attracts attention in them is the contrast of colouring. The East window is pale. It has been often criticised as being too pale, but as the sun is seldom seen behind an east window, depth of colouring there seems to me to be somewhat of a mistake. The case of the West window is different. The sun often shines fully through it into the Church at the time of Evensong, and in this window and in that on the north side, Mr Kempe has shewn that, at any rate in his later years, he appreciated richness of colouring and was able to produce it.

The West window is a comparatively small one of three lights surmounted by some plain perpendicular tracery. At the bottom of the centre light is the figure of Jesse with a stem springing from him surrounded with the scroll, "Jessaea Virga Floruit[1]," an echo of the words of Isaiah xi. 1, 10. "There shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse...And in that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people; to it

[1] Dr Feltoe points out that the phrase Virga Jesse floruit occurs in the Gradual for the Annunciation in the Roman (not in the Sarum) Missal and Canon Wordsworth that the same phrase occurs in Adam of S. Victor, but I have not been able to trace the very curious form in the window nor the other quotation.

shall the Gentiles seek: and his rest shall be glorious." Above Jesse are the figures of David and Solomon with the Virgin and Child, the crown and end of all, at the top. In the two side lights are the figures of the kings as given in the genealogy in S. Matthew, and in the lights above are a row of six angels, bearing scrolls, the two over the centre light having the words "Radix et origo David,—Stella Matutina"—an echo of the Vulgate version of Rev. xxii. 16, the four over the two side lights the verse of the Christmastide Hymn as in the East window. Two small spaces above these are filled with shields bearing the Arms of Ely and the monogram A. E. T.

The window on the north side of the sanctuary is very similar to the East window but smaller—four lights instead of six. The subject of the glass is the Crucifixion. At the bottom of the four lights are representations in the centre of the Crucifixion itself and the descent from the Cross: in the left-hand space of the Virgin and S. John with the other women, and above their heads scrolls with the Third Word from the Cross—"Mulier, ecce filius tuus; ecce mater tuus": on the right hand the scene of S. John leading the Virgin to his home. Here, if I may venture a word of criticism, I think Mr Kempe missed a great opportunity. The Christian can never rest in the Crucifixion. It is not a dead but a living Christ that we worship; the real symbol of salvation is not the crucifix but the empty Cross. A picture of the women going to the tomb on the first Easter morning with the scroll over their heads—"Non est hic: surrexit enim, sicut dixit"—

"He is not here: for He is risen as He said"—and the Easter light shining in the distance would have expressed this idea and surely added much to the meaning of the window.

Over the principal scenes are beautiful canopies and above these two rows of weeping Angels, the lower bearing scrolls with the words from the Te Deum—"Tu Rex gloriae, Christe, Tu Patris sempiternus es Filius,—Tu, devicto mortis aculeo, aperuisti credentibus regna caelorum"—"Thou art the King of glory, O Christ, Thou art the everlasting Son of the Father—When Thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, Thou didst open the Kingdom of Heaven to all believers." The quadrilateral space above the chief opening is filled with a representation of the Lamb "as it had been slain" standing on the Book with the seven seals, and the spaces above with the symbols of the Passion—the nails, the lance and the crown of thorns. The rest of the openings are filled with foliage.

This window bears the inscription—"In praise of the glorious Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ and in most loving memory of James Hamblin Smith, M.A. of Gonville and Caius College and for xxxiv years churchwarden of this parish, who was born ii^nd^ December mdcccxxvii and died x^th^ July mdcccci this window is dedicated by his wife Ellen Hales Smith." This and the East window are thus in everyway companions, both connected with a name long familiar in the parish and the University. The West window has another connection. The inscription on it is this:—"In honour of God Incarnate and in memory of Rowland Morris Fawcett

Doctor of Medicine in the University of Edinburgh who died 22nd of April 1890 aged 86 years and of Elizabeth his wife who died May 24th 1871 aged 72 years this window is dedicated." Dr Fawcett was well known to many as a prominent figure in the parish. The window was presented, although the inscription does not mention the fact, by his nephew the late Mr W. M. Fawcett. Mr Fawcett was for many years Diocesan Surveyor and was well known for his interest in all Church and philanthropic work. Our windows remain memorials of good men who have gone before and have left behind them the memory of lives lived in the fear of God and devoted to the unobtrusive discharge of duty.

The fabric has been brought back to a satisfactory condition. A beginning has been made in the work of restoring to the windows the glory of coloured glass, but there is still much to be done. There are six windows still to be filled. The east-end calls for considerable alteration. The present reredos hides about eighteen inches of the bottom of the window and goes far towards spoiling its proportions. Some day it will have to be removed, the altar brought out from its present position and the window shewn in its true beauty. But further, the Church is not merely a beautiful relic of the past. It is that, but it is infinitely more. It is a centre of the religious life of to-day. Here in the twentieth century men and women come to worship God as they have worshipped Him for over five hundred years. Such worship demands the presence of a sufficient Rector or Vicar. In the days of old there was provision for the maintenance of such an one,

but that provision passed first to the Hospital of S. John and then to the Master and Fellows of Peterhouse, with the result that the Vicars are now left in poverty. How long is this condition of things going to continue?

About the year 1600 George Barlow contemplating a like case of need in the parish of Slebech[1] in Pembrokeshire brought about by the appropriation of the Church to the Knights Hospitallers of S. John of Jerusalem did what he could to supply what was wanted. He had learnt, as he tells us, that it was "an ancient institution of primitive times to make, consecrate and endow Vicarages": he held it unjust that in cases of like need the men of his day should not follow in the footsteps of those who had gone before, and he for his part meant to do so. He built a house and endowed the parish with this and with lands and tithes to maintain the Vicar. Who will follow this example to-day and make such provision that when next the Vicarage of S. Mary's is vacant it will not be necessary to search for a man who is either sufficiently blest with this world's goods or who devotes his best energies not to the work of his cure but to other things from which he may earn his living?

A. J. C. Allen.

[1] This notice of the endowment of Slebech is taken from Fenton's *Historical Survey of Pembrokeshire* where further information may be found.

GUNNING REDIVIVUS

'The living and the dead are but as pictures.'

THE other night I was dining with Mr Shipley at Christ's College, and while the guests were assembling in the Combination Room, I was introduced, in a subdued tone, to a gentleman whose name, amid the general buzz of conversation, I took to be Gunning.

'Is it possible,' I said, 'that I am speaking to a descendant of the *Great Gunning*?' Above us hung Dr Woodhouse's portrait of Gunning, and we were standing in the very room of which one of Gunning's many stories is told, and you could still almost see Dr Barker rising to support Parkinson.

It turned out that the name of my new acquaintance was Gunn: but the incident gave me a turn, and I found myself musing over it at odd moments during the week, and for a while I let my fancy play around the old man's memory. Some still living remember him. They speak of seeing him wheeled about as a very old man, in his bath chair. The rest is silence.

Henry Gunning was born at Newton, six miles south of Cambridge, and his father held the three livings of Hauxton, Newton and Thriplow and died

in the year in which his son took his degree. The family then moved to Grantchester. In the following year Gunning, then only a Bachelor of Arts, was appointed Esquire Bedell. Later on he had a house and farm at Ickleton, which in an unfortunate hour he was persuaded to change for one at Bourn. In Cambridge he rented a house, now known as Little Newnham, at the Backs of the Colleges and in 1854 he died at the age of eighty-three, having been Esquire Bedell for no less than sixty-five of them. No wonder he had much to tell! Luckily, he told it. I know no one with any reverence for the past or love of the tale of battles long ago, who does not stand hat in hand to the memory of Gunning. We know what he looked like. The portrait shows him to have been a kindly, shrewd, gentlemanly man of business. The University suffered nothing at his hands, and it would be well if his office could fall upon the shoulders of his like again. *Detur digniori.*

Reading his book is like listening to a man's talk after dinner, when so many are at their best. The facts come rolling out, breezily, without any effort or pedantry. He was not a literary man in the ordinary acceptance of the term. He was a member of the Town Council from 1835 to 1841. He lets out casually, far on in the book, that he was honorary Secretary of the Cambridgeshire Agricultural Society. It is his only allusion to the fact. Such posts are not sinecures as a rule. The passage bespeaks his modesty, if there had been any doubt of it.

It is not my intention, in penning these pages, to draw a fresh portrait of Gunning. They are written in the too well substantiated knowledge of the fact that very largely people have ceased reading him. We are all too busy. Now and again one meets a solitary enthusiast, who declares that Gunning ought to be reprinted, that he wants annotating, and that he wants an index. He wants all three. But meanwhile he can be picked up for little more than a crown, and my copy, which once belonged to Charles Musgrave, is nearly as fresh as the day it was issued. We don't want a reprint so much as we want a sequel; and though all sequels have the reputation of being bad, yet luckily, some years back Mr J. W. Clark in a concluding chapter to his volume on Cambridge showed us what he was capable of doing, and there is a well-founded rumour that he is now engaged in writing his memoirs. I have not forgotten Bristed, nor Wright, nor Pryme, nor Sedgwick; but Mr Clark was twenty-one years of age when Gunning died, and he ought to be able to tell us lots of things, which these do not include.

Gunning came up as an undergraduate to Christ's College in October 1785. The number of admissions that year was three. In the preface to his Memoirs he says that he is about to give a description of times 'which I trust may never return.' As a school-boy at Ely he used to spin his top and trundle his hoop in the Cathedral. At Cambridge, he relates that he went early to see his tutor Parkinson, who found him 'incorrigibly stupid.' Gunning took him some

difficulty.—'I cannot make it any plainer, Sir,' was the reply. 'It requires only common sense to understand it.' Naturally, Gunning decided to give up reading altogether.—'I frankly told him of my intention : he released me from attending his lectures the remainder of the term.' It looks black enough. Yet a page or two on and we find Parkinson taking a real human interest in the boy. There was a man a year senior to him named Hartley, with whom he struck up a friendship. 'I no longer considered him a *confounded quiz*, a name which the idle and the profligate were in the habit of applying to one of the most respectable of the undergraduates.' The *Gradus ad Cantabrigiam* of 1803 gives us a definition of a quiz extending over three pages. A little further on in Gunning we learn that it was not usual to begin lectures until after the division of term. Visiting cards were considered over refinement by the generality of students, 'who, when they made a call, knocked a piece of mortar out of the wall with the key of their room, and with this scrawled their names on the doors of their friends. Some were refined enough to carry a piece of chalk in their pockets.' The scene begins to fill up. The Bishop of Llandaff, and the Duke of Rutland; Dr Kipling on horseback; Banks, of Hemingford. 'I do not remember ever to have seen him guilty of drunkenness, *at that time almost universal*.' Commencement, when celebrated singers volunteered their services, and noblemen appeared in their splendid robes all day long.—These ('which are now uniformly purple') then varied according to the tastes of the

wearers, purple, white, green, or rose-colour ; with a footnote to say that rose-colour was worn by Lord Chartley. Later in the year the number of undergraduates at Christ's rose to six or seven. There is a glimpse of Magdalene College, where 'temperate habits and devotion to tea' were proverbial, even in those days. Again the *Gradus*, in a footnote to the first page, speaks of 'Men of Magdalene College, remarkable for their *wine-less* lives. They drink *tea* to excess.' But then the *Gradus* was the work of a Pembroke man. A Fellow-Commoner at Trinity Hall on leaving gives a bonfire in the centre of the court, consisting of all the hampers they could find, filled with straw, on these his tables, and on these his chairs, the whole surmounted with cap, gown and surplice. Snipe flourished on the site of what was till lately Downing Terrace. Shooting of game was not preserved, and you could shoot continuously from there to Fowlmere. There you caught the coach at the Swan, and were landed back in Cambridge at the Blue Boar between seven and eight. Since then, Gunning saw locks on the Cam removed. We should like the Antiquarian Society to tell us where. At Clayhithe there was a public house on each side of the river. The one on the right bank had certainly gone by 1883. Gunning speaks of the ALE (*sic*) there, in a manner worthy of the author of the *Shropshire Lad*. I am shaky as to the position down the river of Dimmock's Court. Smoking, we gather, was at that time, 1786, going out of fashion amongst the junior members, except on the river in the evening. Will it ever go out

again? 'I took great pains to make myself master of this elegant accomplishment, but I never succeeded,' he says. He then speaks of the middle of 'what is now called King's Parade.' Until the old Provost's Lodge was pulled down, and the Screen built, the name was Trumpington Street. Here is a touch of the Prince of Wales and the Newmarket Races, the Hastings' trial and an allusion to Chancellor Thurlow's speech, plain no doubt to readers then, but now *vieux jeu*. To-day it is all but impossible to visualize a cocked hat! Where was the White Bear Inn? Mr Clark and, we are sure, Mr Atkinson both know. In 1787 Gunning was examined for his degree, previous to which he applied for a *dormiat*. Are these ever given now? He shows us a set of rooms in St John's, then called *The Tub*, to which you were admitted by a trap-door in the floor. This was apparently at the top of the staircase in the south-east corner of the second court and was once occupied by Dr Wood, afterwards Master.

But for rapid accuracy of touch and the sheer terrific take this description of a journey to Worcester and Hereford in January 1788, in order to take a tutorship:

'I started at five in the morning, in a very deep snow; we arrived at Huntingdon in about three hours, where we breakfasted and stayed an hour, and with the same horses went on to Thrapston; here we dined. Taking fresh horses, we proceeded towards Northampton, and arrived between seven and eight in the evening. At five the next morning we set off for Birmingham, which we reached about eight o'clock in the evening. At three in the morning we started for Worcester, and arrived at the Hop Pole at nine o'clock to breakfast. Having breakfasted, and made my toilet, I took a hasty view of the cathedral, and of Flight's

Porcelain Manufactory, and then proceeded on my journey in a post-chaise. Until that morning I had never seen a higher hill than Gogmagog Hills, and my first view of the Malvern Hills I reflect on with delight even at this distance of time.'

An inn at Worcester is still called the Hop Market, and the Malvern Hills still fill Eastern Counties men with as much surprise. Such a passage as this might have been culled from many a book of the period, but it recalls to some chiefly Miss Hutton and her charming *Reminiscences of a Gentlewoman of the last Century*, for it covers the same date and place. He describes the method of road-mending in a way which would have pleased Cobbett or Arthur Young. The drink, this time, is cider, and a man consumes four quarts at a draught. We need not pursue Gunning into Wales. We are back soon enough to squabbles about the Vice-Chancellorship, and Dr Torkington's eligibility for election. 'It is fair,' says Gunning, 'to presume that any man who is fit to be the Master of a College, is not unfit to be Vice-Chancellor.' Dr Torkington was not elected, but his rejection had nothing to do with his claims.

What is the best story in Gunning? After an acquaintance with the two volumes extending over more years than I care to remember, I come deliberately to the opinion that the best story is the one relating to Bob Foster, the Emmanuel College barber, and Dr Farmer:—the Dr Farmer of whom the *Facetiae Cantabrigienses* of 1825 declared that there were three things which he loved above all things, viz.: Good old port, old clothes, and old books. And three things which

nobody could persuade him to perform, viz.: To rise in the morning, to go to bed at night, and to settle an account. It is possible that in these modern times in repeating the story I may be accused of indelicacy. Gunning himself apologizes for telling it. On the other hand the story is so well known to most *raconteurs* that I shall be charged as tedious. But there must ever be some, luckily, to whom the story is new, and on their behalf I shall hope to be forgiven.

'Bob Foster was a privileged man at Emmanuel; he was a great retailer of news to Farmer, who would occasionally amuse us with what he had heard. One morning, when the barber was performing his accustomed office, he said in reply to Farmer's remark—"Well! what news?" "I saw Tom —— yesterday, and he made such a bad remark about you!" "What was it?" asked the Doctor. "Indeed, Sir, I could not tell you; for it was too bad to repeat!" Farmer still urged the point, when the barber (having first obtained a promise that his master would not be angry) replied with *much apparent reluctance*—"Why, Sir, he said you wasn't fit to carry guts to a bear!" "And what did you say?" asked Farmer. The barber replied with much energy and seeming satisfaction—"I SAID, SIR, THAT YOU WAS!"'

If tellers of stories should be canonized, Gunning should take rank for recording that story alone. The story of the Undergraduate Le Grice and the Vice-Chancellor Yates, being a Charles Lamb story, I prefer to leave to those to whom every scrap of Lambiana is a special delight, to be duly prized with memories of Manning and Emma Isola and Mrs Paris, and Crisp and Richard Hopkins.

What a picture it is too, that Cambridge of the Sunday-evening Supper Clubs, at which the fellows of Colleges, home late from taking duty at their

neighbouring country livings, recovered from their labours :

'At St John's it was called "The Curate's Club." At King's, "The Neck or Nothing," so named from the supper consisting of necks of mutton cut into chops. At Christ's, the meeting was called "The Apostolic"; the supper was always tripe, dressed in various ways. As many of the curates had dined early, and fared but scantily, they enjoyed their suppers prodigiously. Each club was restricted to its own members, but when Farmer became Master of his College, Emmanuel Parlour, where he always presided on a Sunday evening, became greatly celebrated : for as Sunday was the usual day for visiting the University, persons of any station, or literary acquirement, would have considered their visit incomplete unless they shared in the hospitalities of Emmanuel Parlour, after having dined with the Vice-Chancellor.'

Jemmy Gordon, described in *Pelham*, is here drawn full length. Has any one yet identified Burke's reference to the Systasis of Crete, for which the Bishop of Llandaff searched 'in several volumes in the University Library' in vain ? What is guadrille ? Here the philologist has his chance unenlightened by the New Oxford Dictionary. The following quotation is transcribed with a fond, if forlorn, hope. May we yet live to see the building rise, and so valuable a plot of land put to its proper predestined use as part of the Library Extension. The year is 1791 :

'On the 13th of December, a grace was offered to the Caput for erecting, opposite the Senate House, a building containing a museum, lecture room, and music room, from designs by John Soane ; this grace passed the caput, but was thrown out in the non-regent house by a majority of two votes. As soon as the congregation was dissolved, Dr Peckard, Master of Magdalene, (who had been educated at Oxford,) followed the Vice-Chancellor, Dr Postlethwaite, to Trinity Lodge. He was in a very excited state, and addressed the Vice-Chancellor, as nearly as I can recollect, in the following words :—"Mr. Vice-Chancellor, I am

surprised beyond measure, that the grace has been rejected; and I hope you will show your contempt of the opposition, by employing fifty men to-morrow morning to begin digging the foundation of the museum."'

Dr Peckard had seen with what wise economy the Bodleian Library used up all the available space in the heart of the University. No wonder he lost his temper.

But if there is ample space still, there is no longer the ample time of those days. Milner was Jacksonian Professor, and apparently attendance at his lectures was in some sense *de rigueur*. Gunning at any rate speaks of himself as having been nominated by his college to attend his Chemical Lectures (Milner being deputy for Dr Pennington). He states that he used to go with one of the senior fellows, *half an hour before the lectures began!*

Watching the fates and histories of Cambridge Colleges is rather like looking at the waves of the sea in a storm. In 1795 we read: 'The junior fellows of Trinity Hall used to speak of their College as a *Fief of Queens'*.' Gunning, speaking of Queens' College under the presidency of Dr Milner, remarks that previously to his time Low-Church doctrines had been entirely confined to Magdalene College:

'I have heard Dr Gretton (who was sixteen years Master of the College) declare, he thought there must be something in the air of Magdalene that made men Methodists; "for," said he, "we have elected Fellows from Clare Hall, from Trinity, and other Colleges, whom we have considered to be most Anti-methodistical, but in a short time they all became Methodists."'

Where is the Dolphin Inn, once opposite Catharine Hall? Where is there a portrait of the

Prince of Orange, the Stadtholder, who, on 2 April 1796, wrought such havoc both upon the Second Epistle, and the second chapter, of Jude? Where a more delightful picture of Coleridge than that of him as an undergraduate—I have one of him at the time—complaining of the dinners in hall?—'We have veal, Sir, tottering on the verge of beef!' Which Esquire Bedell to-day, be it asked with all respect, could have taken Lort Mansel, the Public Orator, to task upon Jeremiah xxxiv. 17? There must be a truce to these questions, and we must remember that it is to Gunning we owe the description of the water-course in front of Pembroke College, dividing the street into two very unequal parts. 'The sides of the channel were boarded, and it was crossed by two very narrow bridges, one opposite the Master's Lodge' (for which we turn to Ackermann in vain), 'the other opposite the gates of the College.' Then follows the story of the four-in-hand, and this too is the *locus classicus* of the Senior Wrangler who 'could swim.' A more incredible reason than one of those here adduced for *not* lighting the town could hardly be found on this planet:—'Some thought that the fights between the University and Town would often recur, as now persons, not being able to recognise each other in the dark, more frequently passed without quarrelling.' Could Gunning have been serious when he was dictating that passage? He tells the fact without a smile. He speaks of the Cambridge of that day in no measured terms. 'To me,' he says, 'who have a perfect remembrance of all its horrible discomforts, it seems surprising

that any family should have resided at Cambridge who could live anywhere else.' Gunning's description of Stourbridge Fair is too historic to need quoting ; and it is not so important at the moment for the present *pasticcio* ; but how can one pass over the Vice-Chancellor's state drive to Burwell ?

'On the night previous to my being summoned a very heavy snow had fallen ; but notwithstanding this, (added to the execrable state of the roads,) the villages of Bottisham and Swaffham were crowded with people, who did not in those days scruple to come from a distance to see a coach and four. The Marshall, who had filled his pockets with half-pence for the occasion, amused himself with throwing them in the snow, and we laughed heartily to see the scramble for them.

When we arrived at the Devil's Ditch, two strong cart-horses and their driver (belonging to the tenant) were in waiting, and we had several spare traces in the carriage. At this point we quitted the road altogether, and went across the ploughed lands. There was no longer any danger of overturning, but the six horses were obliged to exert themselves to the utmost to keep the carriage in motion. At length we arrived at the Vicarage.'

On another occasion, in 1810, driving back from Burwell, the Vice-Chancellor and the Esquire Bedell (Beverley) had a violent quarrel on Newmarket Heath. *Tantaene coelestibus irae ?* In fact, write as one may, there is no end to the stories in Gunning. What wonder that he is a classic ? The Reminiscences are as good reading as *Alice in Wonderland*. Combine the Turkey in the Lincolnshire pulpit with William Pugh, the fellow of Trinity, who was turned on by Farmer to catalogue foreign books in the University Library, and, instead of cataloguing them, read them :—you have a wide enough field. Pugh, turned out of his office, smashed all the lamps in Trinity and Trumpington

Street. But that did not prevent him becoming Vice-Master of his College and, thirty years afterwards, quoting to Dr Parr one evening in Hall, from memory, a page and a half of a pamphlet which Parr himself had written, and confessed that he could not repeat a line.

What has become of the Buchanan Sermon? How many readers of this present article can give the origin of the name of Panton Street? Where is the Cardinal's Cap, at which, on the occasion of a County Meeting convened in order to address the King, petitioning him to dismiss the Ministry, the Duke of Bedford and the Party dined? Gunning was a good lover—who would not have wished to win from him his words 'the firmest friend man ever possessed'?—and he was a good hater. Was ever portrait etched in with more burning acid than that drawn by him of his fellow officer, whose name even he did not spare? Three pages, and the man stands in pillory for all time. I will not quote them: but the following outspoken sentence of contempt will indicate Gunning's powers as a draughtsman:—'Having most acutely felt the degradation of being obliged to associate with men whom I blush to recollect as my colleagues, I have a proud satisfaction in being able to record the entire restoration of the respectability of the office of Esquire Bedell by the appointment in this year (1826) of George Leapingwell.'

The pages are alive, whether they tell of Sam Peck, a copy of whose portrait has at last been promoted in Trinity College from the kitchen to the Combination Room: 'Sam Peck never takes a

fee, but he loves gratitude'—or of Wilkes addressing a meeting from the Senate House steps. And another portrait in Trinity comes back to mind. William Frederick, second Duke of Gloucester, came into residence at Cambridge (so the *Dictionary of National Biography* informs us) as a boy of twelve, in 1788, the year in which Gunning took his degree; and Gunning, if he was susceptible to the charms of childhood, must have had the happiness of seeing the little boy, now and then, very much as he looks down upon us from one of the world's greatest masterpieces, the portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds. We get various glimpses of the Duke in these pages, though nothing but rather a distant effect. He was the only one of the royal family, Gunning tells us, who was educated at an English University. The Duke was dead all but twenty years before Gunning began to write, and Silly Billy, Chancellor of the University at thirty-five, did not live up to his portrait. We see him with his tutor; we hear of him conversing with Lady Harwood in Magdalene Lodge; we find him generously sparing the University authorities unnecessary expense at a Commencement; and we witness the atrocious rudeness of the Master of Sidney. It is a pitiable spectacle:—but what would one not have given to have seen the Chancellor as a boy!

Among the amazing changes and chances of this human kaleidoscope, who now would believe the story of the Cambridge Auxiliary Bible Society? It met with strong opposition from the leading members of the University, 'who considered that

if the young men assumed the character of a deliberating body, it would be productive of great mischief to the discipline of the University.' Even after the Vice-Chancellor had given his permission for a preliminary meeting, Dr Marsh opposed it. He considered it highly improper to circulate the Bible without the Book of Common Prayer. The undergraduates induced Lord Hardwicke to preside. Not a Head of a College, however, would come forward. The Master of Trinity was afraid of the Bishop of Ely. The President of Queens' did not dare to offend Wilberforce. After all, we are within the period of Simeon's activity, a good deal of which is set forth here, but the story is part of a wider aspect of English History, and these pages must be ringing to a close. But the Cambridge Auxiliary Bible Society could not be let off. After all, who knows? Only the other day, the *Athenaeum*, in reviewing Mr Godley's *Oxford in the Eighteenth Century*, draws a dark enough picture of the 'vigour and sanity' of to-day.

Gunning's remarks upon Trinity College are among his pleasantest. To read him you would think he had never heard of the Wars of the Roses—I should have said, of Monk's *Life of Bentley*. But he alludes to the traditions of the past, and this is his tribute to Postlethwaite's Mastership from 1789 to 1798:

'Perhaps, in no period since the foundation of the Society, have a greater number of eminent men been elected. That disgraceful system by which the actual Seniors in several instances elected the Fellows, though they were not present during the Examination, and had not tested the Exercises, was abolished. Every friend to that illustrious Society will reverence the memory

of John Baynes, Miles Popple, George Waddington, Thomas Cautley, Thomas Jones, Henry Porter, Kingsman Basket, John Hailstone, Matthew Murfitt, and Matthew Wilson, by whose courage and integrity that infamous practice was abolished.

From the date of this memorable appeal, Trinity College assumed that high character in the University which it has ever since maintained. The system of favouritism which had so long prevailed, and by the operation of which so many unfit men had been elected into Fellowships, received its death-blow.

From 1787 to the present period, I have never heard an unsuccessful candidate hint a suspicion that he had been unfairly dealt with, and, from the paucity of vacancies, there must be many such every year.'

The world still stands in need of an adequate history of that royal foundation. Years, centuries pass by. Yet no one Trinity man, of all the thousands who pass between its walls, has ever come forward to immortalize his memory as its historian.

Gunning's story has been retold—'God knows how unworthily.' I have said that there is no oral tradition attached to his memory : but the story, that he had listened to sermons in Great St Mary's for thirty years, and thanked God he was still a Christian, a story which is also told of George Leapingwell, is in all probability due to him, and I have found it in a footnote to Bristed. We like to think of him with his three gold chains, given him by the three Chancellors of the University, which never had a better officer or servant. And so we must leave him. My final advice to those who should read these pages is that they should read his book.

Two years before Gunning's death, and the publication of his *Reminiscences*, there appeared in New

York the work of a young American of the name of Bristed, under the title of *Five Years in an English University*, in two volumes. It is not known if Gunning ever read the book, but it is just possible that under the inspiration of Bristed's effort he gathered his own papers together. They bear marks of haste, and in fact their author never lived to see them in print. Bristed's are of a totally different nature. They begin ten years after Gunning leaves off (1840—1845) and stop seven years before the date of the imprint. The value of the picture here given it is not easy to over-estimate. Bristed in his turn played many parts, Fellow Commoner, Pensioner, Scholar, and Fellowship Candidate. Then he passed away back to his own hemisphere. His own proudest boast is that he introduced the sherry-cobbler to the two English Universities, and left his Cambridge friends as last memorials *bisque d'écrevisse* and cocoa-nut pudding. His definition of a gentleman ensures him our permanent respect, though Dr Johnson once confessed that he had no passion for clean linen:

> 'Oh, but you want an education for *gentlemen*.'
>
> 'Exactly—I do; and the gentlemen whom I want to train up should require just wealth enough to enable them to wear clean shirts, and be just "aristocrats" enough to prefer the company of persons with clean shirts and clean habits to that of persons with dirty ones.'

There is something of the newer Socialism about that. Bristed, like Gunning, would have found a ready welcome in the year nineteen hundred and nine. But there is this distinction between them. Gunning never so much as mentions the Union

Society, Bristed stood for the Presidency. 'But our public speaking! *There* we have them!' says Bristed with true American pride. How much the history of American education has moved on we may gather from three words in his second volume. '*We want endowments*' (they are his own italics). Here at least the New World is conquering the Old.

William Everett, another American, and but recently again among us, twelve years later, in 1866 wrote another, a chatty book. It does not add much to what we know already, 'as others see us.' But the following from the description of Trinity Old Court is apt to be forgotten:

> 'A clock which strikes twice. The members of the neighbouring College of St John's complaining that Trinity clock struck too loud, a second movement was added which struck in a softer note, and they were perfectly satisfied.'

The story seems to bear some relation to that of Sir Isaac Newton's cat and kitten.

> 'O these walks in Trinity Court at night! Those whose feet once kept pace with mine are pacing the deck of the Indian steamer, or mounting guard on the battlements of Fort William, or treading wearily the narrow rooms of many a school and parsonage all over England, and some have found rest at last.'

In the summer of 1895 an athletic team of Cambridge students was visiting America, and found itself one evening being entertained at dinner at the University of Harvard. After several speeches, and towards the end of the evening, an elderly gentleman with white hair rose and addressed the banqueters. He explained that in his day he had been a student at Cambridge in England, and with

considerable emotion he proceeded to describe, for the benefit of those who had never visited this country, a day of his life here as an undergraduate, ending with some account of a final walk down the avenue of Trinity. The effort was beyond his powers, and he resumed his seat in tears. The speaker was Mr Everett, the author of this book. It is now getting scarce, and a wise man will capture a copy.

The kaleidoscope has begun to turn. Magdalene College 'has of late had one or two distinguished scholars; but it is famous for a luxurious table, and very lax discipline.' Jesus College Chapel is considered, next to that of King's, the most beautiful in Cambridge. He reminds us, on the authority of Fuller, that in 1634 Emmanuel College 'hath overshadowed all the University.' Pembroke (we are back again in 1866) 'is one of the pleasantest and most respectable little colleges in Cambridge.' The Pitt Press, we are told, has a handsome front. Mr Everett, too, was struck with our drinks. Trinity Hall was famous for Madeira cup, King's for milk punch, Pembroke for 'Cup' proper, while Trinity had its 'Silky.' I have never tasted silky. At Caius, in 1866, 'the new hall is very fine.' What would Mr Everett say now after Mr Warren's redecorations?

The course of these disjected notes has run on with too much facility. Perhaps the expansion from the pages of Professor Pryme, and Wright, and from Sedgwick's Life, would lead too far afield. But

who, that loves Cambridge, can help lingering over the records of her past?—

> This happy breed of men, this little world,
> This precious stone set in the silver sea.

Not without reason does the mind turn instinctively from our own walls, to embrace the length and breadth of our land. For a University is as a heart that supplies the fresh, new, purest, best blood: and of that heart was Gunning.

CHARLES SAYLE.

THE SHIP OF FOOLS

The chapter in the history of the Renascence in which the *Ship of Fools* figures conspicuously is doubtless neither its most brilliant nor its most fascinating phase. The sphere into which we are here admitted is no hallowed grove, remote from the coarse and crass outer world, like that in which the Academicians of Florence lent ear to the celestial teachings of Diotima—no court of artificial charm and perfumed atmosphere such as that in which Francis I was fain to pose as president. Yet the chapter in question is full of interest as telling of sustained efforts made by a combination of serious and high-minded, devout and patriotic men ; and the work which more fully than any other illustrates and attests the spirit that animated them holds a place altogether its own in the story of European letters. This place it conquered for itself by no high or rare literary merits. It derives no vitality from any imaginative power such as informs some of the favourite poetic creations of the Middle Ages, and it is consecrated by no mystic enthusiasm of the kind which, in the most cherished of their devotional manuals, appeals at the same time to the profoundest weak-

ness and to the loftiest aspirations of men. And yet, by the generation which greeted it with a welcome uttered in common by Germans and English, by French and by Dutch, as well as by those who could only make acquaintance with it in its cosmopolitan Latin garb, the *Ship of Fools* was thought as entertaining as *Reynard the Fox*, and hardly less edifying than the *Imitatio Christi*. No other work of profane literature, at all events, exercised so extensive and lasting an influence as this upon the Reformation age, in which the religious and the political life of the West were alike transformed. The popularity of the work may be safely asserted to have greatly exceeded that of any other didactic poem—the species of literature to which it belongs—ever written in a European tongue. Its allegorical machinery (if so rough a design is to be called by so technical a name) is as simple and as slight as that of the *Roman de la Rose*, the favourite allegory of the preceding century, is ingenious and elaborate ; but it hit the popular fancy so exactly that the remembrance of it has survived with the freshness of a proverb, while the scheme of the French poem cannot be recalled without an effort even by professed literary students. Nevertheless, no student will require any great equipment of learning in order to discover that the *Ship of Fools* is, both in substance and in detail, anything but original ; and very few readers will be ashamed to confess, before they have done with the book, that it is extremely dull. Every book, we know, has a fate of its own ; but it was not chance that made the fortune of the masterpiece of Sebastian Brant.

THE SHIP OF FOOLS

The name of the author of the *Ship of Fools* is intimately associated with those of two cities almost equally illustrious in the history of the Renascence and the Reformation, and alike eloquent in their very stories of the imperishable glory of their past. The Rhine was a free river, as it flowed past the parapets of Basel and the mightier defences of Strassburg; and only below the latter city it began to become the 'priest's lane,' as it pursued its course through a series of nine great spiritual principalities. Free citizens took their ease on the banks of its green waters in the venerable Swiss city and in the silver 'pride of Elsass,' not yet torn from the Empire by fraud, to be long after restored to it by force. In and between these two famous cities—in a region which from the Roman times onwards had in intellectual culture been in advance of all other German lands, and which had at no previous period been so eager to add new achievements to the associations of the past—the whole of Sebastian Brant's life was spent. He was born at Strassburg, where he was afterwards to end his days in the honourable post of Clerk to the Council of the Free and Imperial City, and where his sepulchral tablet in the University Library is one of the few monuments which survived the bombardment of 1870. He was the son of a citizen and vintner—like the great English poet who, fourscore years before Brant's famous work was produced, had in very different fashion depicted the varied company of men and women that find themselves seated at the ordinary of everyday life.

The year of Brant's birth was 1458—about the period when the Greek fugitives from Constantinople

were in Italy stimulating a new zeal in the prosecution of classical studies, and when in Germany books of greater size and importance were first issuing from the still mysterious source of the printing-press. Brant's own native Elsass was only beginning to enter into the movement in which it was to play so early and active a part. Strassburg itself had as yet no public school ; and there is no evidence to show that Brant received any part of his education in the seminary of the neighbouring Schlettstadt, where the Westphalian Dringenberg, who had been at Zwolle in the time of Thomas à Kempis, was headmaster, and where Geiler von Kaisersberg and the illustrious Jacob Wimpheling were pupils. The tradition that in Brant's case the want of school training was largely made good by maternal care suggested to the ingenious writer who enlarged the original *Ship of Fools* by some very good additions of his own a touching allusion to the supposed fact ; and certainly no part of Brant's moral teaching is more impressive than that in which he dwells on the effects of parental example. Besides a later section in the text—' Honour father and mother '—in which we read how, when his mother came into his presence,

> ' King Solomon
> Rose reverently from his throne,'

there is an admirable discourse near the commencement of the poem ' On the teaching of children,' and on the folly of leaving unbent the young twig while it still readily yields to disciplinary pressure. The young Sebastian, we may feel sure, was brought up very differently from the young scapegraces who,

in one of the excellent woodcuts illustrating the original edition of the poem, are shown at fisticuffs over a table littered with cards and dice, while the father fool sits by, blindfolded, and with a feeble grin of satisfaction on his face at the high spirits of those dear boys. For the rest, it is just possible, though hardly quite proved, that Brant received part of his education at Baden—a place whose name, a generation ago, would have only too vividly recalled our author's section *On Gamesters*. Indeed—so little do the outward features of vice change with the centuries, that Madame de Cruchecassée and her bedizened crew are brought to mind by Brant's angry apostrophe to the women who boldly take their seats at the table with the men, there to

> 'Rattle the dice early and late,
> Forgetful of their proper state.'

But, in any case, neither Baden nor even Strassburg was the real seminary of Sebastian Brant's mental and moral growth. In the year 1475 the young Alsatian matriculated in the University of Basel—already celebrated, though it had not yet passed through the first quarter of a century of its existence, and though nearly half a century was to pass before Erasmus, still at the height of his literary powers, but no longer in the van of the struggle with which his name had been identified, had taken up his residence in its midst. The old *régime* in the world of intellectual effort and spiritual endeavour was still far from being at an end, and still further from seeming so to the well-nurtured lad who at Basel first addressed himself to the twofold study which he

pursued through life—the study of books and of men.

I do not know whether the young Sebastian Brant ever beheld at Basel that famous mural painting on which many of us have gazed there, and which, of course, is only one of a great number of similar medieval treatments of the same theme—teaching all men two lessons not usually blended together—the lesson of equality and the lesson of humility. The author of the *Ship of Fools* was certainly well acquainted with the fancy, to which he unmistakably alludes in the section 'Of not taking thought of death.' 'Death,' he says, 'makes us equal, one and all':

> 'His summons to the dance obey
> Pope, Emp'ror, King, bishop and lay.'

Each has to take part in the *Gzolter*—an untranslatable word which seems to signify a sequence of dancers as in the *Polonaise* of our youth—and to join in whatever *pas* (one or two popular varieties are instanced) is piped to the company. It must not be supposed that there is any lurking secondary intention in this acknowledgment of the power of the Universal Leveller, any more than in the subsequent reference to the useless pomp of mausoleums and pyramids—

> 'Full many a corpse the heavens alone
> Cover *sans* monumental stone;
> And who could better wish to lie
> Than 'neath a star-lit canopy?'

But the melancholy cadence of this section of the poem, as well as the grim fancy of the dance in which young and old, high and lowly, must perforce

take part, well suited the times into which Sebastian Brant was born, and in which there was enough, and more than enough, to remind even Emperors and Popes that they were mortal.

The Emperor who for all but the entire latter half of the fifteenth century held sway over Germany—the last Roman Emperor ever crowned at Rome—was Frederick III, the very incarnation of impotence, and accepted as such by the Empire at large. Until, just a year before the publication of the *Ship of Fools*, his son Maximilian I, whose splendid marriage with the Burgundian heiress his ill-starred, and at times all but lackland sire had of late been in the habit of discounting like a bankrupt father in domestic drama, had succeeded him on the Imperial throne. The beginning of a new reign is always a time, however short, of hopefulness, however unwarranted. Not for want of will, but for want of power, the Emperor Frederick had remained absolutely inactive in the face of the awful danger threatening Germany and the whole of central Europe from the constant and, as it seemed, irresistible advance of the Turk; and, after the capture of Constantinople seemed to have inflicted its deathblow upon Eastern Christendom, without the arm of the chief of Western Christendom being raised in its defence, he had been reduced to begging money—practically in vain—from the discordant estates of the Empire for the defence of its own frontier. When, in 1493, Maximilian at last became Emperor, the time seemed at last to have arrived for the impossible to become possible—for the Turks to be hurled back and the Empire to be united. Maximilian was one of those

gifted men whose whole life's course is paved with good intentions and great designs, but in whose case posterity, which must apply the standard of achievement, cannot be expected to accord the measure of sympathetic admiration bestowed upon them by their contemporaries. He neither wrote the whole of his own poetry nor controlled the conduct of his own wars—chiefly because he lacked time to accomplish the one thing and money to manage the other. The record of his life's work is fragmentary; one of the most untoward incidents of his reign was that defection of the Swiss from the Empire which drove the loyal author of the *Ship of Fools* home from Basel to his native Strassburg.

Of this political background no attentive reader of the work is likely to lose sight. In the *Ship of Fools*, as, in fact, in every book or broadsheet of the age, the terrible Turk's head will be found thrusting itself in, while a cry of lamentation goes up to Heaven for the four lost sisters of the Church of Rome—the Patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Jerusalem and Antioch. Yet, says the poet—filled with the thought of the new Crusade, for the successful prosecution of which there was in truth nothing wanting except men and money—the ship may yet sail a straight course, if only due support is given to the noble prince, Maximilian; when there shall

> 'Fall without fail into his hand
> The sacred soil, the promised land.'

Still, the tone of the section 'Of the defection of faith' is far from being enthusiastically hopeful; the author's eyes are not closed to the obstacles in the

way of the fulfilment of his desires ; for he knows the indispensable condition for victory over the Infidel—unity among Christian Kings and peoples,

> 'I hope to God, it may be so.'

One of the most notable attempts—indeed it may be described as the most notable of the period—to unite the princes and peoples of Christendom in a great defensive Crusade had been made, immediately after his accession to the chair of St Peter, by the Pope who had been elected in the very year of the birth of Maximilian I and of Sebastian Brant. In this attempt Pius II, one of the most intelligent though by no means one of the greatest of Roman Pontiffs, had failed—largely because of suspicions connected with his diplomacy as an agent of the Curia before his own elevation to the Roman See. The great service which, in the judgment of Rome, Æneas Sylvius had then rendered to her interests had been to help to undo in a large measure the results of the Council of Basel—the last of the three great Councils of the Church from which the nations had hoped for a real reform of her from within. Such had been the mighty impulse of union, that this Council had even undertaken to bring about the reconciliation of the Hussites to the Church—nay, even to bridge over the gulf which had for centuries separated Eastern from Western Christianity. While the latter design continued an unfulfilled dream, the Hussites in the end only secured their recognition as an independent religious body by the fearful wars which carried fire and sword through a large number of the towns and villages of the Empire. To the

generation of Brant's manhood the followers of Hus were odious heretics—doubly odious because for the time successful in enforcing the demands of their non-conformist conscience. The orthodox author of the *Ship of Fools* unhesitatingly classes the Hussites among those whom his English translator Barklay describes as 'straunge Folys and infydels such as sarasyns, paynems, turkes and suche lyke,' but who in the original are, with equally significant brevity, termed 'foreign fools' *simpliciter*. In the woodcut accompanying this section the artist, evidently moved by what would in modern Germany be called Anti-Semitic tendencies, has represented one of the number, clearly a Jew, as depending from a gibbet—and, indeed, Brant's native city had taken its share in hunting down the unhappy Jews in the days of the Black Death, when the most deadly suspicions fell upon them. In the section of the poem itself, however, there is nothing about the Jews, but a reference to

> 'the school of heresy,
> Which the fools' chair doth occupy
> At Prague, and now hath further yet
> Over Moravia spread its net.'

Like a true academical German of his age, Brant probably abhorred the Hussites as Bohemians hardly less than as heretics; elsewhere, in a very striking passage, he illustrates the omniscience of God by averring that, though neither a Bohemian nor a Tartar, He yet understands their tongues.

Not only had the Council of Basel failed to bring these schismatics home into the fold; but, largely through the adroitness of the future Pope Pius II,

the Papacy had so entirely contrived to hold its own, that of the decrees of the great assembly nothing of importance had survived save the confirmation of a hitherto doubtful dogma—that Immaculate Conception, of which Brant was afterwards to be an ardent supporter,—and a few more or less durable compactates. 'Merry Basel,' as Pius II had himself once called it in one of his literary excursuses, had therefore been the scene of very interesting transactions, when in 1460 this very Pope founded a University there—as in a city of commanding celebrity. It is not surprising, therefore, that in an age of Universities old and new, that of Basel, midway between Germany, France and Italy, should have at once become a widely acknowledged seat of intellectual activity.

Enough has been said to suggest under what general conditions the group of scholars and divines formed itself at Basel, of whose views and sentiments the author of the *Ship of Fools* was to become the most popular and the longest-lived literary exponent. Its central figure was the famous Johannes a Lapide (Johann Heynlin von Stein)—the Latinisation of whose name suggests the remark, that the popularity of Sebastian Brant as a writer in the German vernacular may perhaps account for the circumstance that he is very rarely mentioned by the Latin equivalent for his name which he appropriated—*Titio*, a rather out of the way word signifying a brand. Johannes a Lapide is known in the history of philosophical controversy as one of the most active combatants in a late, but not altogether unimportant, stage of the great contest between Realism and Nominalism. It is well known how in different

countries these rival schools of thought had by more or less subtle processes come to connect themselves closely with parties mutually adverse in Church and State ; but in Germany, as in France, Nominalism had by the middle of the fifteenth century become thoroughly identified with the national opposition to Rome ; and under her influence at Paris the truth had at last been definitively established by an ordinance against Nominalism *de par le Roi* (1473), which left the chairs of its professors vacant at the Sorbonne, and padlocked its text-books. The victory (though it was quite short-lived and perhaps did more harm to the Realists than to their opponents) was for the moment complete ; and the German 'nation' in the University of Paris (which included Englishmen and Scandinavians in addition to Low and High Dutch), being mainly Nominalist in its opinions and sympathies, of a sudden found itself tongue-tied.

The success of the Realists at Paris (though it was to prove temporary only) was such as to lead at once to fresh endeavours. Johannes a Lapide, who had actively contributed to the result at Paris, now made his appearance at Basel, with the purpose of there fighting the same battle over again. It is unnecessary to follow the course which the controversy hereupon ran at Basel, where, after many years, it ended unfortunately for Johannes a Lapide. He retired into a monastery, where he afterwards died—Sebastian Brant, it is said, being the only person not resident within the convent walls who was admitted to the death-bed of the great Realist divine. In Johannes a Lapide there passed away the leading

spirit of that circle of Renascence thinkers and writers which, as everything tends to show, included the author of the *Ship of Fools*. One of the Master's most distinguished followers, Jacob Wimpheling, afterwards wrote of him in these words: 'Like a true champion of the faith, he always stood armed *cap-à-pie* in the fray, and fought out many a hard fight—but in his heart he was always inclined to peace. His life's work was blessed to him. He never took a book or a pen into his hand without having previously collected his thoughts by offering prayer before God. The Holy Scriptures he had read and meditated so often that he almost knew them by heart. His soul was pure, like a child's; to play with children was his favourite recreation, when he felt exhausted by a long spell of work.'

Yet Johannes a Lapide was one of the most zealous and influential among the early promoters of humanistic studies; Paris owed him her first printing press, and he was looked up to as their preceptor by Reuchlin, the man of three languages and the hero (rather against his will) of the great battle against the Obscure Ones, and by Agricola, 'the second Vergil,' who was wont to express a hope that in time Germany would be quite as Latin as Latium itself. Johannes a Lapide's follower Sebastian Brant was likewise a humanist and a teacher of humanity; his Latin poems are many in number and have that pleasing sameness to which few devotees of the art of writing Latin verse aspire in vain.

But, though Wimpheling and Agricola, and the future great pulpit orator Geiler von Kaisersberg,

and Sebastian Brant, and their revered Master, and the rest of the group of Germans who surrounded him at Paris and at Basel, were as scholars or as 'poets' in sympathy with classical learning and scholarship, they thought this reconcilable with adherence to the old traditions in Church and State, and even in University life. As teachers, preachers and writers, this aftergrowth of the Realists appealed to the old authorities that had satisfied their predecessors ; as politicians, they were full of the conception—so old as to have become new again—of a strong Imperial authority ; and in matters ecclesiastical they were (in a word) thoroughly ultramontane —willing and anxious to see the authority of the Pope lifted even above that of the Emperor himself. Yet these men are not mere dull conservatives for conservation's sake. There is among them a readiness, not indeed to accept the world as it is, but to deal with its defects as that which it is their duty to study and, so far as in them lies, to cure. The evils of society are such that their inclinations are altogether averted from it ; that their eyes turn wistfully to retreats, such as some of them actually found and others were near finding. But, so long as they are sojourners in the world, they will, in great things and in small, manfully set themselves to their task of improving it. Accepting authority as from God, they will show themselves inflexibly rigorous to all social and moral licence and impurity and iniquity ; in principle the Highest of Churchmen, they are in questions of practice the very Puritans of the Church of Rome. Or is it not the very spirit of Puritanism which speaks out of such passages as that in which

the author of the *Ship of Fools* refuses to draw a distinction between the sinfulness of little and the sinfulness of great sins—as if God's justice could be bargained or made terms with:

> 'Who speaks of God as merciful,
> And not as just and terrible,
> He is a fool unspeakable.'

We may now, perhaps, have formed some notion of Sebastian Brant's times and training. He was (as I have said) a classical scholar of some mark and a successful 'poet' (i.e. writer of Latin verse); he was also an assiduous Italian scholar, to whom the world owes the first collective edition of the works of Petrarch. By his co-operation in the production of the great Basel Concordance to the Bible he had proved his diligent study of the Scriptures; although his own professional avocation and the field of his University teaching had been the law—that Roman law which was about this time establishing its supremacy in the Empire. He seems, moreover, to have had a thorough acquaintance (such as at these times was much valued by literary men) with the technicalities of the printing-press. To be able to handle proofs was then an art; and many eminent scholars spent a considerable part of their literary life in 'reading' and 'correcting' for the printers. (Gradually, no doubt, the accomplishment grew common enough. In the *Ship of Fools* Brant indicates his opinion that for a University man run to seed the two most suitable callings are that of a printer and that of a tavern-waiter. We shall see immediately that Brant probably knew not less about engraving than about printing—indeed, it is held by

some that the woodcuts, which did almost as much as the text to make the *Ship of Fools* universally popular, were in part his own handiwork.) Learned, then, in the best learning that his age could supply, but at the same time unburdened by the faintest doubts as to the truth of his religious beliefs and the soundness of his religious convictions—such we may believe Brant to have been when he began his work as a popular teacher—not ill-equipped for the task which, with a self-certainty such as often reveals genius, he had deliberately set himself.

Whether or not parts or sections of the *Ship of Fools* had already been put forth by Brant before he published the book as a whole in the year 1494, it is certain that many a flying sheet from his hand had before then been launched upon the world, probably with the assistance of the same wealthy friend (Bergmann von Olpe) who glorified his printing-press by the careful and costly production of the *Ship of Fools*. Even before its merits were known, the publication of such a book, ample in design, taking in title, and elaborate in execution, must have at once announced itself as an important event in the world of letters.

I have described the book, in the first instance, as ample in design. For it is manifestly intended to be at once a mirror of society as it exists and a manual of the principles on which it should be reformed. The wisdom of both sacred writers and profane, but more especially that of the former, is laid under contribution ; and, with effective diversity and in overpowering abundance, its whole warning, threatening, prophetic force is brought to bear upon

the failings, the foibles, and the vices of mankind. And this is to be done in such a way as to come home to the business and bosoms of every honest burgher in the land—I say of every burgher, because the great middle class is obviously the public which the author has more especially in view. He is devoid of any courtliness of tone or ornateness of style such as might have sought to woo the attention of a more select audience, and he nowhere either rushes into the impassioned eloquence or lapses into the coarse buffoonery which at once gain the goodwill of the multitude. In a steady, business-like way he goes *seriatim* through his black list—as in a catalogue of sins drawn up for the ear of the confessor, or as in a *manuel des péchés* which exhaustively classifies its materials, without leaving any convenient gaps through which a favourite sin may slip.

The design of the book was therefore ample, though not in itself new and in its most essential features familiar even to classical antiquity. Yet its author had wit as well as wisdom, and knew that, before you can impress your public, you must catch it. Brant we may take to have been a professor born, pleased with the uninterrupted sound of his own voice, and feeling himself in his proper place when exhorting at his ease—with time for deft allusion and apt quotation—*ex cathedrâ*. But he knew that even a manual of social—and to some extent political—morality such as he contemplated must for its success largely depend upon its *form*. And in the case of his poem, the work might almost be said to have been half done when he had chosen its title—*The Ship of Fools*.

Nothing, of course, could have been further from Sebastian Brant's purpose than to invest his catchword *Narr* (our *Fool*) with the specific meaning which French wit has attached to the corresponding word *Sots*. The gay mockery which underlies this genuinely French conception of folly would have been quite unintelligible to the grave German moralist, himself in his way a product of the very period and school whose self-delusions the French Renascence as personified in Rabelais so humorously mocked. The great people of Fools, says Michelet, has received notable accessions from the Academy, from the Bar, from literature, from Parliamentary government,—but its true cradle was the age of Scholasticism and the school of the Realists. Sebastian Brant had in view a very different kind of folly from either that which Rabelais ridiculed, or that of which Erasmus wrote a sarcastic panegyric.

It is clear whence our author derived the notion of treating all human sin and weakness as the products at once and proofs of *folly*, and of speaking of those who are guilty thereof as *fools*. The half bitter half kindly irony of the Bible term had already before Brant been adopted by medieval writers, while it had had something of a counterpart in the diction of classical antiquity. 'The Fool hath said in his heart : There is no God.' 'Thou Fool, this night thy soul shall be required of thee.' It is not of course to be supposed that in Brant, any more than in the Bible itself, a meaning which would properly be called humorous attaches itself to this metaphorical use of the word *fool*. It is true that we find Brant telling his friend Geiler von Kaisers-

berg how, when he beholds the vain delights and cares of the crowd, he takes refuge in the unextinguishable laughter of Democritus ; but, as a French critic has observed, this must be interpreted very far from literally ; and, even supposing that readers of the *Ship of Fools* may have occasionally been moved to laughter in reading the poem, its author of a certainty never laughed in writing it. On the other hand, we must remember that to people living in the later Middle Ages the idea of a fool was anything but an abstraction ; inasmuch as every court and every household of consequence had its concrete fool—with cap and bells and the other paraphernalia of his office—to be a *memento stultitiae* to others—the reverse, as it has been well put, of every wise and virtuous obverse in life, as afterwards in literature. Indeed, pictorial instances are to be found of earlier date than the excellent woodcuts illustrating Brant's poem, in which fools, according to the pregnant Biblical use of the word, appear decorated with the professional cap and bells. Thus, then, the allegory easily pointed itself to the dullest eye. The cap *fits* with equal appropriateness every successive concrete representation of human frailty or obliquity. It bedecks the covetous man and the prodigal ; it looks out of the window over the smiling countenance of the vainglorious fool whose house is on fire in the basement storey beneath ; it wags on the poll of the gibing fool who chivies the messenger of good doctrine out of the city; its asses' ears nod upon the babbler who lies serenely like Bottom in the arms of Titania ; it gracefully droops from the frizzled curls of the young fool who has married the old woman

for her riches. How its bells jingle in the foolish company that passes its time in dances and leaps immoderate round the golden calf ; how they clatter in unison with the noisy tongues which know not how to keep reverential silence in the choir ; how pendulously the cap sways to and fro with the drunkard, as he hugs the wine-jug with tearful affection ; how triumphantly it surmounts the trembling carcass of the fool who has despised and made no provision for death, and has now started on his last journey in company with a certain grim skeleton.

But Brant was not content with a mere series of fools. In a moment of inspiration he invented for his collection a joint name, which has secured immortality for itself, whatever may be the fate of the book which bears it. I have called the device of the *Ship* of fools a mere name ; for in truth it is little more. But perhaps I may let the author introduce it in his own words, or rather in those of his English translator, Alexander Barklay. There can be no harm in occasionally using his version where it fairly reproduces the sense of the original, rather than inflicting on the reader too bald a translation of my own. At the same time, it should be pointed out that 'pregnant Barklay,' as he is called by a contemporary, had many excellent qualities as a translator, but not that of confining himself with scrupulous accuracy to his text, while occasionally he manipulates it in a way that would have deeply shocked the orthodox Sebastian Brant[1].

[1] Alexander Barklay, a Scotchman by birth, seems to have been a Franciscan monk in the early part of Henry VIII's reign ; but soon after Luther's declaration of his opinions seems to have become one of the advanced guard of the German reformer's English sympathisers. He survived just long enough

The Prologue, then, to the poem was originally adorned by a double woodcut—one half of which exhibited a waggon full of fools, while the other showed forth one large ship and several small, heavily freighted with the same sort of company. To the general title was appended the facetious legend : 'Bound for *Narr*agon.' Below was to be read this garbled and misapplied quotation from the Psalms : '[These are] they that go down to the sea in ships ; that do business in great waters ... They mount up to the heaven, they go down again to the depths ; their soul is melted because of trouble. They reel to and fro, and stagger like a drunken man, and are at their wit's end.' A few words follow of lamentation over the wickedness of the world at a time when Scripture is within anyone's reach. Brant had special cause for dwelling on the circulation of Holy Scripture among a thankless generation, since, during the decade (or eleven years) in the course of which the *Ship of Fools* appeared, not less than nine editions of the Bible were published in a single printing-establishment at Basel. The world, he proceeds, is out of joint ; and the fools have become

> 'a sorte almost innumerable
> Defilyng the worlde with syn and Vylany.'

What is to be done with such a crowd so composed which fills all streets and passages ? Let us

to receive substantial preferment under Edward VI, and it is therefore manifest why he cannot be always depended upon as faithfully reproducing the sentiments of an author who would have gone to the stake rather than accept a favour from such a Government. Of course Henry VIII is Barklay's hero ; and he was at least fortunate in having to choose one who at the beginning of his reign (Barklay's English verse translation of the *Ship of Fools* was published in December, 1509) was quite as popular in England as Maximilian was in Germany on his accession to the Imperial throne.

get a fleet ready to ship them off—together with any and every sort of vehicle in which they can be stowed away! No sooner said than done: in Barklay's lively version

> 'The sayles are hawsed, a pleasant cole dothe blowe';

but whither—to what Utopia or Kennaquhair—the fleet or ship (for the fleet becomes a ship before the Preface is at an end) is bound, we are not told; and in the course of the poem we are only incidentally reminded of the machinery of ship, fleet, and waggons, by means of which it was got under way. The chapters describing and discussing the several kinds of fools succeed each other without any external links of connexion, till we reach a late stage of the poem. Here a section appears called the *Schluraffen-Schiff*—(*Schluraffen* or *Schlauraffen* being a term signifying lazy apes or, as we should say, idle dogs)—while the well-known fancy of the *Schlauraffenland* corresponds to that of our land of Cockayne—the land where fish swim about ready-boiled in the streams, where fried eggs grow on the trees and the hedges are brown with sausages done to a turn. Here the notion of the Ship or Ships of Fools, the crew of which sails in quest of a land of luxury and founders on the way, is in some measure kept up. But in the general course of the poem the author only returns now and then to the connecting fancy—for 'plan' or 'plot' it cannot be called; and in the main contents himself with describing and discussing the several varieties of Fools, without any reference to their being accommodated in any ship or other sort of conveyance. It may be added that

he reviews them without any attempt at order or sequence—haphazard, which, to be sure, is after the manner of fools. Now, medieval writers in general are addicted to this careless and inconsistent way of composition, which furnishes occasion for so much harmless labour to editors and commentators. But Brant (as if, like a true Puritan, he contemned that supreme grace of style which resides in the harmony and symmetry of a work as a whole) carries this disregard for form singularly far.

I should like to add that, in my opinion, sufficient attention has hardly been paid to the suggestion that there was a special reason why the author of the *Ship of Fools* jumbled up (if I may so say) in his mind the notion of fools in a ship and that of fools in a cart, to such an extent that in one passage of the poem he speaks of both 'ship and wagon heaving away from the shore.' He was of course familiar with the shows so common in the Middle Ages, and called *pageants* in England (where the Lord Mayor's Show, a genuine type of the species, may be expected to survive more recent and more rational developments of it) ; indeed, he is, though on unsatisfactory evidence, said to have himself introduced the usage at Strassburg. At all events, whether or not the framework of the poem was in any degree due in its origin to a reminiscence of civic pageantry, there is certainly evidence that the device of a ship full of fools was not unknown to exhibitions of the kind after the publication of Brant's work.

But, after all, the chief reason of the popularity and fame achieved by that book must lie in the execution of its design, rather than in that design

itself or in the name of the poem. And it is from this point of view that at the close of his poem, the author at once proudly and slily avers that it is not every man who knows how to create fools—unless indeed his name be 'the fool Sebastianus Brant.' Yet, notwithstanding all that has been written on the subject, it is not very easy to state directly wherein lie the real merits of Brant's execution of his loosely conceived design.

Of course, there are, to begin with, the illustrations, to which reference has already been made more than once, and as to which it need only be added that at no time has wood-engraving held a *relatively* higher position than in that which produced these woodcuts, in part at least (for several hands are distinguished by expert eyes) of their kind hardly to be surpassed. Thus the types which in his list Brant brought successively before his readers (and generally in no large number of verses) were so to speak clothed with flesh and blood at the outset, and made living figures even to the dullest imagination, before the lessons to be enforced by them had come home to the experience and the conscience of his readers.

The excellence of the literary execution of the poem is far less striking. The style is dry (much drier in the original than in the English translation, which has something of the exuberance rarely absent from even the earliest productions of our Tudor literature) ; it even seems bald, though much less so on a closer than on a superficial acquaintance. In the period in which the *Ship of Fools* was produced, imaginative power was of course by no means deemed the first requisite for a poet, if

indeed it was deemed a requisite for him at all. The first and indispensable mark of a real poet was learning—and this of two kinds, and virtually of two kinds only—viz. scriptural or classical. The *Ship of Fools* is conspicuous for both ; indeed, when carefully analysed, it seems to contain comparatively little besides these two elements, of which that of biblical references and allusions is by far the larger. But our author's learning is not only derived from the writers of the Bible (and more especially of the Old Testament) and from the authors of Latin antiquity (in Greek he was confessedly the merest beginner); it is likewise fed from sources to which he would perhaps not have so proudly acknowledged his obligations—the popular proverbs and sayings of his own native land, though Brant is one of those writers of whom it is not always easy to say whether he is quoting proverbs or making them. And this at least, if just praise, is no slight tribute to his power of style.

Still, much as Brant learnt from books, he also learnt much from his observation of men. A wit he certainly was not, but he had in him something of that which goes to make up the humourist. He was an observer of manners, and (which is more) he was an observer of men—I mean of those human types which (without prejudice to the theory of the perfectibility of our race) seem not inappropriately to be called perennial. No doubt the class of society from which Brant took most of his types was, like that which he addressed, in the main the middle class of his times. This middle class was becoming wealthy, and becoming at the same time the real

focus at once and starting-point of the activity, the enterprise, the ambition (so to speak) of the European world. In Germany, at all events, what there existed of intellectual effort, artistic or literary, was mainly (though not entirely) confined to this class; and, if its poetry was prose, that of the other classes was inarticulate, or had mouldered away into dust and ashes. The middle class was at the same time strong enough and healthy enough to be able to laugh, or bear a laugh, at itself; heavy, clumsy and coarse, it was inclined to be irresponsive when tickled with a straw, but, on being fairly tumbled down by a straightforward blow, it would rise up again and perhaps frankly acknowledge the force of the criticism.

Were any direct proof desiderated, to show that Brant's teaching came home very directly to those for whom it was more especially intended, such might be found in the best known fact in the history of the *Ship of Fools*. Some years before Sebastian Brant returned to Strassburg, one of the most distinguished associates of his University days at Basel had begun a career there unforgotten among the many noteworthy reminiscences of the German Renascence: Geiler von Kaisersberg had become the most famous preacher of his age—'the trumpet of Strassburg' he was called. He was too great an orator not to be in the truest sense of the word a man of the people—not only one who so far as he could protected the people and pleaded its cause against oppression, opposing iniquitous taxes and intolerable forest-laws, and bearing himself as a friend to the poor, as a father to foundlings and as a com-

forter even to the condemned ; but also a man who dared tell the truth to friend and foe alike. His sermons (which are extant) came home with the utmost directness to hearers of all classes, and all the more so because they spoke, to men and women, puissant and puny, rich and poor, not about the sins committed by some imaginary person at a comfortable distance from the church, but about the sins of which they were themselves guilty. To preachers of this kind any opportunity of furbishing up their armoury and freshening their effects must always be welcome, and Geiler hailed as a godsend, in the literal sense of the word, Brant's didactic poem. He took its successive sections for his texts in a long series of sermons, which he arranged under the headings of so many *swarms* or divisions of fools, and so many *bells* or subdivisions in each swarm. The sermons, as preserved to us, seem (so far as I have noticed) more remarkable for their plainness and directness than for any other quality—but who would care to criticise the bones of dead discourses? No better testimony could assuredly be furnished than the fact of these sermons to the palpable truthfulness of the *Ship of Fools*.

If, in conclusion, I direct special attention to one or two among the passengers in the Ship, it is not because I think this is a case for careful selection ; and, if I speak of the first in the list to begin with, it is not because I think the insinuation either fair or well-founded that the didactic poet's first lesson should be regarded as a sort of voluntary self-immolation. Unlike many satirists who came after him, Brant had not a grain of self-irony in his nature, nor

a trace of a suspicion that he might be astray in any of his ideas concerning wisdom and folly. The first fool whom he introduces to his readers is certainly not the worst fool; and one who, I will venture to say, had not revealed the whole of his dangerous qualities in the fifteenth century. The lover of *Inprofytable bokes* (in Brant's woodcut he appears in night- as well as fool's cap, wearing the spectacles which already in those days were supposed to be evidence of fanatical study[1]) is, however, properly speaking, neither the infatuated scholar, nor even the petty pedant, but the impostor who, because he displays the visible signs of learning in a handsome library full of well-bound volumes, thinks himself on that score entitled to respect and reverence. It is not a little to Brant's credit that he should have recognised a foible of the Renascence age in a feature which in its early days can only have been beginning to thrust itself forward. It should, however, not be forgotten that in the days of the epical poet Maximilian as in those of the theologically inclined Henry VIII learning was in fashion as well as in good repute, and was doubtless affected by many because it was patronised at court and was supposed to imply good breeding, though they were innocent of it in their hearts:

> 'But if it fortúne that any lerned men
> Within my house fall to disputácion,
> I drawe the curtyns to shewe my bokes then,
> That theye of my cunnynge sholde make probácion,
> I kepe not to fall in altercacion,
> And whyle they comón, my bokes I turne and wynde;
> For all is in them, and no thynge in my mynde.'

[1] And so in the Elizabethan age. 'I'll break his glass-windows about his ears,' says a boorish visitor of Doctor Faustus in Marlowe's tragedy.

In a later section of the *Ship of Fools*, the author goes a step beyond these cavils against the unprofitableness of the outside of books, in order to speak of the unprofitableness of the inside of some of them. The satire of this latter passage does not go very deep ; but it proves that even one nurtured in scholasticism and its ways like Brant could have a shrewd idea of their barrenness, and compare to the swarm of flies which corrupted the land of Egypt the buzzing dialectics which filled the lecture-rooms of Leipzig and Erfurt and Vienna and Heidelberg and Mainz, and even of his own beloved Basel.

As to the remaining sections of the *Ship of Fools*, it would not be very difficult, even without the aid of the woodcuts, to attempt to produce out of the materials in Brant's book something like a picture of German middle-class life at the close of the Middle Ages—indeed, I do not know why I should say *German* : for by means of a few fresh touches Barklay easily adapts the picture to English conditions. Thus, for example, in the instance of the moralist's invective against extravagance in dress—a subject in so far of greater importance in the 15th century than in the 20th, that it almost equally concerned both sexes. The great Strassburg preacher accordingly addresses himself to the extravagances, absurdities and enormities of male as well as female attire, when he takes up his parable on this part of Brant's text and goes accurately through the various vagaries of the Peculiar Fools, the Got-up Fools, the Affected Fools, the Painted Fools and the Looking-Glass Fools. We are in the age, remember, of

the Field of the Cloth of Gold, or the age of what Shakspere calls 'fierce vanities'; and his glittering picture of the French 'all clinquant, all in gold' and their English rivals is quite in harmony with that of the 'yonge Jentylmen descended of worthy auncestry' who figure in the *Ship of Fools*, their necks charged with collars, and chains as thick as golden withes, their fingers full of rings, their necks bare and their sleeves like the wings of a crane[1].

Of course, the ladies have their full share of the reproof; and their fashions of apparel are most rigorously criticised, from the peaked hats 'set aloft' on their heads to the long trains dragging behind them in the dust—the latter an outrageous practice which, says the Strassburg preacher, the priests and prelates in France and Italia have driven to a still further pitch of pride, who have servants specially appointed to carry the tips of their trains behind them. But as for the ladies, why should we speak of *ladies*, when Brant bears witness that citizens' wives walk about in more gorgeous attire than countesses, and that even the helpmates of poor workingmen carry about them on their persons in the way of gowns, rings, cloaks and fringes, more

[1] By the way, flattery has never been more outrageous than in the *envoi* which Barklay has quite gratuitously added to this diatribe on dress, and in which he appeals, as to an instance of sadness, i.e., sobriety in apparel, to the example of Henry VIII, who might have blushed as purple as his slashed velvet to hear himself thus referred to :

> 'But ye proude Galanndes that thus yourselfe disgise,
> Be ye asshamed ; beholde vnto your Prynce ;
> Consyder his sadnes ; his honestye denyse :
> His clothynge expresseth his inwarde prudence,
> Ye se no Example of such Inconvenyence
> In his hyghnes, but godly wyt and grauyté.
> Ensue him, and sorowe for your enormyté.'

property than they have left in the four walls of their husbands' houses.

Fond of gay and gorgeous apparel, the age was at least equally addicted to the pleasures of the table. An insatiable love of feasting was a most unmistakable feature of the times, and a quenchless love of drink was common to the whole Teutonic race. Nowhere was there more self-indulgence in these habits than among the light-hearted denizens of the vine-clad banks of the Upper Rhine. (It is noteworthy that Brant only points out, as a sort of postscript or afterthought, that what he has said applies to beer-drinkers as well as wine-bibbers; beer was a Low-German, not a High-German, beverage; the Scotchman Barklay impartially brackets wine and ale together.) For the rest, temperance, not total abstinence, was the Strassburg poet's platform. 'A fool,' he says, if I may freely translate him,

> 'in large draughts takes pleasure;
> A wise man knows to drink with measure,
> And is far healthier than the dunce
> Who pours whole tubfuls in at once.'

The inordinate love of eating and drinking which prevailed in the Middle Ages, and more especially among the German and cognate peoples, contributed enormously to retard the progress of refinement, though other reasons may have helped to promote the worship of Saint Grobian, whom Brant mentions as the patron saint of the unpolite. Our author was sagacious enough to know that manners are an excellent if not infallible test of high qualities of both mind and heart. Hence no fool is—in the literal sense of the epithet—a more egregious fool

than he who has not learnt, or who has refused to learn, how to behave himself. The *Ship of Fools* contains an unusually long section concerning those fools who do not know how to behave themselves at table ; and, though habits have in some respects changed since his time, and are not in this matter in particular as yet settled on a complete international basis, still there are many points of agreement, especially negative points, between good manners of this day and of that—though it need no longer be a moot point whether in helping yourself to salt it is not better to take a pinch with clean fingers (Brant most strongly insists on the rite of washing hands before dinner) than to plunge your knife into the salt-cellar. Propriety, then, should be observed in dining ; in *dancing* our Puritan moralist sees no propriety at all. It was invented in a season when the people of Israel sinned against their God, nor is it the more excusable as an amusement because on festive occasions the clergy so largely take part in it. More manifestly foolish is the practice of serenading, a custom which seems irresistibly to associate itself with the narrow streets and high, many-storeyed, many-balconied houses of medieval towns. But Brant has no patience with it ; for truly small must be the pleasure

'In winter nights your heels to cool,
A fool—and courting of a fool.'

A kind of climax in this class of fools is in Brant's opinion the case of the Shrove Tuesday or Carneval Fool ; and on the whole there seems some point in his declaration that neither Jew nor Pagan ever

degraded his religion by so shameful a funeral-solemnity as that in which the Christian world once a year, at Carneval time, takes so inane a joy. And to make a mock of the pious usages of Ash Wednesday, by throwing ashes and mud over one's fellow-Christians—especially female fellow-Christians—as they pass by in the street, seems certainly to be the fool's gloss on the liturgy of the Church.

To these examples from the *Ship of Fools* of manners, or of the want of them, in the fifteenth century might of course be added many others of social uses or abuses bequeathed by it to its successors. If Astrology is a dead science, there is no truth more fatal to the kindred delusions which have survived it than that which underlies Brant's saying that God (or Nature) is not to be *forced.* To be sure, our author at times shows himself the timorous child of an age which shrinks from tasks which mankind is called upon to face. Alchemy, astrology and the like may seem pursuits which resemble playing with fire ; but what is to be said of the opinion that there is something foolish—i.e. sinful—in the inordinate love of—geography ? We should, however, remember that the discovery of the New World was just then bursting upon an awestruck and uncritical generation, before we decide that there is not a grain of truth in the stanzas, in which Barklay reproduces at all events the thought of Brant's section 'Of exploring all lands.'

And, even if the imaginative intelligence of our author be occasionally at fault, he is always on the side of veracity and candour ; just as, if his moral indignation be occasionally misplaced, its incidence is fearless and refuses compromise with any form

of vice or frailty. Gamblers are not castigated with greater severity than usurers, or idle wives than calculating husbands. Even the clergy are, with a quiet seriousness uncoloured by the malice or prejudice which barb so much of the medieval satire directed against them, subjected to frequent warning and reproof, only too well warranted by the failings or malpractices noticeable among them. Brant's counsel to the clergy is both loyal and wholesome ; nor is there any point on which he more earnestly dwells than the necessity of due thought and preparation before the solemn responsibility of holy orders is assumed. (In Barklay's hands this passage I need hardly say loses nothing of its severity.) But neither are the vices of the laity slurred over, how elevated so ever the spheres in which those vices are most largely practised. The immorality of field sports (a real immorality as carried on by the squiredom of Germany, where not long afterwards the Wild Huntsman became the type of the unrest of perdition) is treated with as little reserve as is the effrontery of the vagabond class which enjoys itself consummately on the charity of its superiors. I wish I had left myself room for entering into Brant's description of a kind of Beggars' Bush near Basel, where the outcasts of society had made a society with rules and usages of its own for themselves. The Beggars, as M. Jusserand has taught us, played a great part in the life of the Middle Ages ; indeed, being the real circulating medium in the world at a time when circulation was difficult, they were the unpaid agitators in many a political and religious movement—their share in which has not been appreciated by history. The irresponsibility of the vagrant added

to his journalistic freedom of utterance, while the conservative powers in society frowned upon the newsmongering tendency of the times—Brant is very emphatic in the contempt which he expresses for the prevalent love of news and for the excessive facilities offered for its transmission (whether true or false) by the postal authorities.

But it would be altogether misleading to bid farewell to our moralist with a notion of him as a mere painter or even a mere satirist of manners. The author of the *Ship of Fools* was moved by far deeper thoughts and purposes. If he believed the world out of gear, and Anti-Christ—not Wiclif's or Luther's Anti-Christ, I need hardly say—at hand, it was because the folly against which he raised his voice seemed to him more than the passing folly of fashion or extravagance, or of idle or vain habit of this kind or of that. Never, he declares in the section 'On the Anti-Christ,' have there been in the world means of knowledge so numerous; all the books ever made by our ancestors are now accessible to us all; never before were there so many schools, so many Universities, and so many frequenters of them. But faith is decayed, the Scripture which lies open before us is despised, and the God who is thus abundantly manifested to us is the scorn of the fools who crowd our ship:

'What menest thou by god the Father eternall?
Howe takest thou hym, howe countest thou his lawe,
Whiche by thy presumpcion foule and infernall
Dare be so bolde his berde this wyse to drawe?
By his hye myght thou countest nat a Strawe;
And than, whan god by mercy and pyté
A whyle the suffreth for thy dede to go fre,

And doth nat punysshe this synne incontynent,
Therfore thou thynkest that god hath pardoned the ;
Bycause the lyghtnynge or thounder vyolent
And other tempestuous stormes whan they be
Ouerturneth downe an oke or other tre,
And suffreth the and thy hows to be vnbrent,
Thus thýnkest thou the pardonyd by god omnypotent.'

This is the folly of follies, the supreme folly which Brant and his associates had set themselves to scotch if not to kill. The very learning, which they all professed and promoted, they held as nothing in comparison with the source of its inspiration ; all other follies seemed venial in comparison with that which rejoiced in making a mock at Providence :

'Persist, by all divine in man unaw'd ;
But "Learn, ye Dunces, not to scorn your God."'

If something like this was the essential spirit of Brant's work, so in his *Apology* at its close he explicitly declares the honour of God and the benefit of mankind to have been the purposes with which he composed it. Maybe, he says, its fate may resemble that of a flower which has a pleasant scent and from which a bee sucks honey—not from which a spider, when he comes to weave his web across it, will only draw poison after his kind. For ourselves, it may perhaps suffice if a perusal of this famous book directs our attention to one of the most sober and most serious—I might almost say, one of the most solemn—aspects of the great historical movement of the Renascence. Brant's plain-spoken allegory sought to remind the German nation, and with it those other kindred peoples who claimed to be part of the author's public, that the world was too weak to pursue its course by itself, and that its new wisdom

would be like unto its old folly, if compass and anchor were lacking in the equipment for the voyage. This was the lesson which the *Ship of Fools* endeavoured to impress upon its generation—a lesson, like all other human lessons imperfectly taught and imperfectly learnt, but neither given ignobly nor received altogether in vain.

A. W. Ward.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CAEN AND THE DAWN OF THE RENAISSANCE

The twin colleges of Eton and King's were not Henry VI's first experiment as a Founder. Nine years earlier, when he was still a child, his uncle, John Duke of Bedford, had founded in his name the University of Caen. In the Charter, granted at Rouen, January 31, 1430—1, he is made to say that 'there being no Faculty (*studium*) of Civil Law in any of his French provinces, he thereby established and founded a *studium generale* for Canon and Civil Law in his town of Caen, a town convenient, peaceful, and secure, adorned with famous monasteries, colleges, convents, and other ecclesiastical foundations, situated on a fertile soil, and near the sea, and so of convenient access for both students and merchants from nearly every quarter of the earth[1].' The foundation of the new University was keenly resented by the University of Paris, but the English government paid no heed to its remonstrances. On the contrary, they added new faculties, Arts and Theology in 1437, Medicine in 1438.

[1] A. de Bourmont, *La fondation de l'Université de Caen* in *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, XII. (1884) 293 ff. *Pièces justificatives*, I. See also for the history of the University, L'Abbé de La Rue, *Essais historiques sur la ville de Caen*, 2 vols., Caen, 1820; H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, II. pt. i. 194—8, Oxford, 1895; H. Prentout, *Renovatio ac Reformatio in Universitate Cadomensi*, Caen, 1901.

On May 29, 1439, the foundation was confirmed by a Bull of Eugenius IV, in which the Bishop of Bayeux was designated as Chancellor. Just before this, on May 26, the King had issued from his palace of Kensington letters-patent containing the statutes for his new University, and on October 20 of the same year it was solemnly inaugurated with an imposing ceremonial in the Church of Saint-Pierre. In the following January a Rector was appointed in the person of Michael Tregury, a former Fellow of Exeter (1422—1427) and a future Archbishop of Dublin (1449—1471). He held office till October—the regular term of office was for six months—when he was succeeded by Jean Lenfant, a man of some note, and one of the chief supporters of the English rule in Normandy. But the most famous of these early Rectors was Thomas Basin, Dean of the Faculty of Canon Law, who at the time of the siege of Caen by the French (June, 1450) held the rich and important bishopric of Lisieux. It was mainly through his influence that the town capitulated on favourable terms. He rallied to Charles VII, who placed great confidence in him, but, having incurred the displeasure of the Dauphin, the future Louis XI, he had to submit to many indignities during his reign, and was finally compelled to resign his see. His chief work is a Latin history of the reigns of Charles VII and Louis XI[1], which though it contains a good deal of valuable first-hand information, must, owing to the writer's natural bias against Louis XI, be used with caution. Basin also assisted in the rehabilitation of Jeanne d'Arc and at the

[1] Edited by Quicherat for the *Société de l'histoire de France*.

request of Charles VII wrote a memoir on her behalf.

Among the other more important officials of the University was the *scriba* or secretary, who performed many of the duties of our Registrary. He also had charge of the catalogue of the University library, and assisted the Rector in his inspection of the books. The minor officials included six bedels, one for each of the five Faculties, and one for the special service of the Rector, two booksellers (*librarii*), two parchmenters, two illuminators, two bookbinders, a bell-ringer (*pulsator*), and seven messengers, who carried on the postal service in the seven dioceses into which Normandy was divided.

The new University had no local habitation of its own, but the Founder assigned to the two original Faculties of Civil and Canon Law part of a house in the street which is still called the Rue des Cordeliers, and later the other three Faculties were installed in the remaining part. The house was the property of the Duke of Orleans, whose widow, mother of the future Louis XII, gave it to the University in 1477[1], and it now became known as *Les Grandes Ecoles*. The University itself, as distinguished from the Faculties, had to be content with the hospitality of the neighbouring Franciscan convent, where its Congregations were generally held and where its archives were deposited.

The students were obliged to lodge in the University quarter. The rent of their lodgings was assessed, not by taxors, as at Cambridge and

[1] H. Prentout, *La vie de l'Étudiant à Caen au XVIe siècle.* Caen, 1905.

in most Universities, but by a Syndicate composed of the Rector, a representative of each Faculty, the Vicomte de Caen, and two or three 'notables' of the town. This was also the practice at Orleans. As in other Universities there were Colleges with bursaries or scholarships for poor students, but only three of these can be said to have flourished. The oldest and least important was the College of Le Cloutier, founded in 1452 by Roger Le Cloutier for a Principal and two scholars. The College of Arts was founded by that Faculty in 1460, and installed in a house which the Faculty had purchased immediately opposite the *Grandes Ecoles*. The Collège du Bois in the Rue Saint-Sauveur was founded in 1491 by Jean de Gouvis. Fifty years earlier (1442) Pierre Cauchon, of infamous memory, had left a sum of money for the support of two scholars at Caen or elsewhere. But the will had been disputed by his heirs, and it was not till 1491 that Gouvis, who was one of Cauchon's executors, definitely founded the College, with provision for a Principal and six scholars. It seems probable, as Beaumont suggests, that Cauchon's legacy was in the nature of an expiation and that the name of the College perpetuated that of Nicolas Du Bois, Dean of Rouen, and Master of a *pédagogie*, whose house Gouvis bought for the local habitation of his scholars. It was natural that he should have shrunk from associating his College with the Bishop who had been the chief instrument in the fate of Jeanne d'Arc, and against whom the populace had manifested their hatred by disinterring his remains and flinging them into the sewers.

The College of Du Mont, when the Jesuits captured it in 1609, had only existed as a College for fifteen years. Huet, the learned Bishop of Avranches, claims, indeed, in his *Antiquités de Caen*, that it was of much older foundation, but it has been clearly shown that its earlier condition was only that of a *pédagogie*, which owed its name to its being rented from the abbot and monks of Mont-Saint-Michel[1].

The subjects of study at Caen were the same as in other mediaeval Universities. Aristotle as elsewhere occupied the chief place. Beside the famous *Summulae* of Petrus Hispanus we find in use those of Albertus Magnus and Buridan, that Paris professor of philosophy, whose name has been preserved, not by his learned treatises, but by the strange tradition, which inspired the lines in Villon's *Ballade* :

> Semblablement, ou est la royne
> Qui commanda que Buridan
> Fust jette en ung sac en Seine ?

and which suggested the name of Dumas's hero in *La Tour de Nesle*. As in other Universities too Disputations were the constant occupation of the student and the only method of examination. In the Faculty of Arts, for instance, the whole of Lent was consecrated to these exercises.

This mediaeval system of education retreated but slowly before the incoming tide of the Renaissance. We know what a stubborn resistance the University of Paris offered to the new studies, and that it was not till 1530, when the Royal Professors were appointed, that the first breach can be said to have been made in her defences. Caen, as was natural, was

[1] See La Rue, I. 235 ff.

even slower than Paris to leave the old ways. The reform imposed upon the University by the Parliament of Rouen in 1521 only affected the superior Faculties, and was concerned rather with the conduct and manners of the students than with their education[1]. But if the University as a whole was unfavourable to the new studies they met with a readier reception in the Colleges. Thanks to M. Delisle's admirable record of the books printed and published at Caen from 1480 to 1550[2] we can in some measure trace the progress of the new movement. For, as M. Delisle points out, a noticeable feature of the printing and bookselling trade at Caen during the first half of the sixteenth century is its close connexion with the University. A very large proportion of the books are school books.

It was at once a school-book and a classical book which inaugurated the printing press at Caen, —an edition of the *Epistles* of Horace with blank spaces for manuscript notes between the lines[3]. Of the printers, Jacques Durandas and Gilles Quijoue, nothing more is known, and no other book was printed at Caen till the year 1509. Meanwhile the Caen publishers, Pierre Regnault (1492—1519) and Robert Macé (1498—1506), provided their clients with books printed at Rouen or Paris. The only

[1] H. Prentout, *Une réforme parlementaire à l'Université de Caen* in *Bull. Soc. Ant. Norm.*, XXII. pp. 241 ff. Caen, 1902.

[2] *Bull. Soc. Ant. Norm.*, XXIII. and XXIV. and see *Essai sur l'imprimerie et la librairie de Caen.* Caen, 1891.

[3] There are three known copies, one in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, one in the collection bequeathed to the town of Paris by the brothers Dutuit, and one in the Rylands library at Manchester. Mr J. H. Clapham, Fellow of King's College, who kindly examined the latter copy for me, tells me that it has interlineatory notes in faint handwriting on the first 36 leaves but none on the remaining 40.

other classical work which appeared before the close of the fifteenth century was an edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1496), with a commentary revised by Jean Gouvain, a doctor in theology of the University[1]. Even during the first two decades of the sixteenth century the number of classical works issued at Caen was very small, consisting of Ovid's *Liber de remedio amoris*, another edition of Horace's *Epistles*, Terence, two editions of Virgil's *Eclogues*, and one of his complete works. Of the two editions of the *Eclogues* one was printed at Caen by Laurent Hostingue, who had set up a press there in 1508 at the instigation of the publisher Michel Angier. Boethius's *De consolatione* was a popular work throughout the middle ages, but its popularity increased at the Renaissance. It is therefore worth noting that five editions of it were published at Caen during the first decade of the nineteenth century, two of these being printed there.

It must not be supposed that the record of books published at Caen includes all the classical texts that were read in the University. Many of the books were doubtless imported from Rouen and Paris. Besides the texts themselves we find the Caen publishers producing other humanistic school-books, such as grammars, dictionaries, phrase-books, and other aids to composition, a large proportion of them being edited by professors of the University. We have an abridged edition of Despauterius, whose grammar found considerable favour in this country, under the title of *Contextus grammaticae artis*, and two smaller treatises, *Ars versificatoris* and *De*

[1] For the preface see Delisle, II. 4.

introductione artis grammatice, by his blind countryman Petrus de Ponte of Bruges, who lectured at Paris during the first thirty years of the sixteenth century, and who in one of his works attacks Despauterius with much acerbity. The well-known grammar of Nicolas Perotti, the first large Latin grammar of the Renaissance, which Erasmus in his *De ratione studendi* praises as the most complete of his day, was published about 1510 by Michel Angier in conjunction with Jean Macé of Rennes, with whom he had a joint establishment at Rouen. The same publishers, with Richard Macé for a third partner, brought out an abridged edition of Valla's *Elegantiae* by Guy Jouennaux (Guido Juvenalis) of Le Mans. A larger work of the same character, the *Elegantiarum precepta* of the Sienese humanist, Agostino Dati, was edited with copious commentaries by Josse Clichtove and Josse Bade (Jodocus Badius Ascensius), to which was added the popular treatise of Sulpizio di Veroli, *De Orationis compositione*, under the title of *De epistolis componendis*. Dati's work was also rendered into Latin verse by Robert Buisson (Dumus) of Lisieux, and the same professor published with Michel Angier a grammar (*Epythomata grammatice*) for beginners. Together with Nicolas Cadier, who edited Terence, and Pierre Des Près, he was a versifier of some skill and taste, though his verses are not free from false quantities. The contribution of Guillaume Le Moine, of Villedieu in Lower Normandy (the birthplace of the famous author of the *Doctrinale*) to the cause of rising humanism was a small Latin-French dictionary, which went through three

editions, all published at Caen about the year 1530, and gained for the author the honour of being mentioned by La Croix Du Maine in his *Bibliothèque*.

A favourite text-book at this time for students of Latin was the *Contra poetas impudice loquentes* or *Contra impudice scribentes* of Baptista Mantuanus, the 'good old Mantuan.' An edition of it was printed by Laurent Hostingue for Michel Angier. No edition of his equally popular Eclogues appears in M. Delisle's record, and his verse is only represented by religious poems, including parts of his long poem on the Virgin Mary and the chief Virgin Martyrs.

Side by side with the new school-books there still flourished the time-honoured ones over which Gargantua pored under Thubal Holofernes and Maître Jobelin Bridé, the *Grecismus*, the *Doctrinale*, *Donatus*, various works by Joannes de Garlandia, the *Compotus* of Anianus, and the eight moral treatises in prose and verse which were known collectively as the *Auctores octo*, Cato, Aesopus, the *Parabolae* of Alanus, *Facetus*, *Floretus*, *Theodolus*, *De contemptu mundi* and *Tobias*[1]. Nor was the collection of sermons, entitled *Dormi secure*, which

[1] *Thobias* (as it is invariably spelt in the old editions) was printed separately less often than the other *Auctores octo* and in consequence seems to be less well known. It is a poem in Latin elegiacs on the story of Tobit and his son written in the twelfth century by Matthieu de Vendôme, the author of various Latin poems, who has often been confused with the far more famous Matthieu de Vendôme who acted as regent of the kingdom on two occasions in the thirteenth century (*Hist. Litt.* xv. 420 ff.). According to the *Histoire Littéraire* *Thobias* was printed at Lyons by Jean du Pré in 1489, but nothing is known of this edition, and the only authenticated one printed in the fifteenth century is a Haarlem one of about the same date. It was printed twice at Caen, with a commentary, during the period 1500—1520. The last separate edition of it is that of Bremen, 1642.

Gargantua had read to him on festivals, forgotten by the Caen publishers[1].

A higher type of humanistic literature than school-books is represented by the *De triplici vita* of Marsiglio Ficino, the Florentine Platonist, and by the *Adagia* of Erasmus. An edition of the latter, without place of publication, but almost certainly published at Caen, contains an epitaph in Latin verse on Jean Goubey, Syndic of the University, who is memorable as the only Caen professor of this period of whom it is recorded that he gave public lectures in Greek. He is described in the epitaph, the date of which is about 1529, as *Nestoreis annis*. Charles de Bourgueville, Sieur de Bras, the historian of Normandy, who was a student of the Collège Du Bois from 1517 to 1519, attended his lectures[2].

On the whole then, it appears that the new studies made but slow progress even in the Colleges. Thus in the year 1530 we find David Jore, who held office as Rector in 1531, inveighing in eloquent terms against the unlearned condition of his University ten years back. *Quanta barbarie, Deum immortalem, nostra Cadomensis academia squalebat ! Emoriar si quid latinum expostulabatur.* Even in 1530 things had not much improved. 'Good literature' [he means, of course, classical literature] 'flourishes in Britain and Germany, but with us a Latin scholar is far to seek. The fault lies with our

[1] See *Gargantua*, XIV., where most of these books are mentioned as playing a part in Gargantua's education.

[2] *Les recherches et antiquités de la province de Neustrie, à présent duché de Normandie...et spécialement de la ville et université de Caen.* Caen, 1588; Rouen, 1833.

nobles, whose sole care is to give their sons the best masters for the training of dogs and horses[1].'

Five years, however, before this Jeremiad was uttered there died at Coutances in his seventy-fifth year a Caen professor of real distinction and wide repute as a humanist. This was Guillaume de La Mare[2], who, having migrated from Caen to Paris on account of the plague, completed his studies and took his degree in the latter University. Then returning to Caen he gave several years to the study of law and the humanities, and at the same time made himself a name as a writer of Latin prose and verse. But at the age of forty-one he sought a more remunerative career, and for ten years acted as secretary successively to Robert Briçonnet, Archbishop of Reims and Chancellor of France, to his successor in the Chancellorship, Guy de Rochefort, who was a liberal patron of the new learning, and to Guillaume Briçonnet, the grasping and ambitious Cardinal of Saint-Malo. He returned to Caen in 1503 or 1504, and, having taken his degrees in Canon and Civil Law, had the honour of being chosen Rector of the University in March, 1506.

In 1511 he was appointed Canon and Treasurer of the Cathedral of Coutances, and two years later he was chosen to pronounce the funeral oration of Geoffroy Hubert, the late bishop, whose body had just been transported to the Cathedral. Later in the year 1513 he sent it to the press with nine other orations and with a selection from his correspond-

[1] Delisle, II. 52.

[2] Ch. Fierville, *Étude sur la vie et les œuvres de G. de La Mare* in *Mém. de l'Académie de Caen*, 1892, pp. 44 ff.

ence. The book appeared in the following June[1]. The letters and a volume of occasional poems which he had published under the title of *Sylvae*[2] in the previous year (1513) give us a fairly complete list of the leading French humanists at this date. It includes Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, Robert Gaguin, Fausto Andrelini, Badius Ascensius, Paolo Emilio, and three Paris professors, Gilles de Delft, Charles Fernand and his brother Jean[3]. Only the two first on the list, it may be noticed, were Frenchmen by birth. Patrons are represented by the Cardinal d'Amboise, Guy de Rochefort, and Charles Guillard, a president of the Paris *Parlement*.

Just before the publication of the *Sylvae* there had appeared from the same press a poem by La Mare of a satirical character entitled *Tripertitus in Chimeram conflictus*, and divided into three books, *Superbia*, *Libido*, *Avaritia*[4]. The same moral and satirical tendency is shewn in a short prose work made up of citations from Greek and Latin authors which La Mare published in the preceding year (1512) with the title of *De tribus fugiendis*, *ventre*, *pluma et venere*, *libelli tres*[5]. He also wrote a paraphrase of Musaeus[6] in hexameters. La Mare's reputation as a writer of Latin prose and verse was not undeserved. It is true that neither his syntax nor his prosody is impeccable; but he writes like a man who has

[1] *Epistolae et orationes*. Paris, Regnault, 1514.
[2] *Sylvarum libri quatuor*. Paris, Badius Ascensius, 1513.
[3] See L. Delaruelle, *Guillaume Budé*, 1907, pp. 17, 18.
[4] Paris, Badius Ascensius, 1513. The La Vallière catalogue II, No. 2635, mentions an edition without place or date, but with a dedication by the author dated from Caen University, Christmas Day, 1510.
[5] Paris, H. Stephanus, 1512; Paris, S. Colinaeus, 1521.
[6] Paris, Badius Ascensius, 1514.

something to say, and he says it with ease and vigour. His satirical poem especially shews considerable power both of thought and expression, and his verse generally has that quality which is the salt of all poetry, in whatever language it is written, namely movement.

La Mare's immediate predecessor in the Rectorship was Pierre de L'Esnauderie, who held the office of *scriba* to the University, which, as we have seen, combined the duties of secretary and registrary. He was also registrar of the Court of Privileges[1]. He was distinguished for his loyalty to the University and his devotion to its interests. Sometimes indeed these carried him too far, as, for instance, when during his Rectorate he proposed that the Charter and Statutes of Henry VI should be burnt, in order to obliterate the connexion between the University and this country. However, the registrary triumphed over the patriot, and by a happy inconsistency he made a copy of the obnoxious documents for his *Matrologium*, which he presented to the University in 1515. Five years later he gave all his books, about eighty in number, to the University library. His writings include two Latin treatises, one of which is entitled *Opusculum de doctoribus et privilegiis eorum*, a prose work in French, *La louenge de mariage et recueil des histoires des bonnes vertueuses et illustres femmes*, in which he tells the story of a girl in his parish who at the age of fourteen could hold her own in Latin grammar against all the male students who came to dispute with her[2], and a farce or morality-play, entitled *Les*

[1] Delisle, II. cxiv.

[2] Delisle, II. xcvi.

Pattes Ouaintes (*The greased palms*). This latter was written in 1493, when the University was engaged in an embittered dispute with the Crown concerning a tax which, with the consent of Charles VIII, the Pope had imposed on the French Church. It was played on Shrove Tuesday by the students, L'Esnauderie himself taking the part of Pattes Ouaintes and being made up to resemble Girard Bureau, lieutenant to the bailie of Caen, who was one of the officials charged with the collection of the tax. The other chief opponent of the University, the Bishop of Châlons, figures in the play under the picturesque name of Ribonribaine, and the University itself appears as *La Mère*[1].

These farces, which in later years were exchanged for classical plays, remained an interesting feature of Caen University life till the middle of the sixteenth century. Of somewhat later date was the *Puy du Palinod*, or annual poetical contest in honour of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, founded in 1527. A similar contest had been held at Rouen since 1486, and there were Puys at Evreux and Dieppe, and in various towns of Picardy. The contests at Caen were managed by a *Confrérie*, to which all members of the University might belong on payment of a fee. The President for the year bore the grandiloquent title of *Premier prince du Palinod*. On the first day of the festival the competitors recited their poems, which took the form of *Ballades*, *Chants royaux*, *Rondeaux*, or Latin epigrams, and were all in

[1] H. Prentout, *La vie de l'Étudiant à Caen au XVIe siècle*. Caen, 1905, pp. 43—50.

honour of the Immaculate Conception. On the second day the judges were appointed, and within three days they had to make their report. The prizes were then distributed, one prize being awarded for each class of composition. The successful pieces were printed, the expense being defrayed out of the fines paid by officials who failed to attend the Annual Congregations of June 28 and October 10[1]. In 1550 the contests were abandoned, but they were re-established in 1558, and before long, owing to the remarkable literary talent displayed at Caen during the last quarter of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth, they attained considerable celebrity. Among the prize-winners were Bertaut, Malherbe, Sarasin, and Segrais.

ARTHUR TILLEY.

[1] La Rue, II. 154—160; Delisle, II. 99.

THE REVERIE OF ADRIENNE

Paris, in the early stages of the eighteenth century on a quiet October afternoon, when the shadows began to strike deep fissures into the flagged streets, and the sky had assumed a deeper tone of blue, was not very unlike the Paris of our early memories.

The house in the Rue des Marais, St Germain, where Racine had lived, was still standing, and within its pleasant precincts Voltaire was a frequent visitor. This October afternoon, in a panelled room opening from the salon, a room finely furnished with bold marqueterie commodes, which the epoch of Louis XV has made famous, on a bed covered with a quilt of satin and embroidery, propped by pillows, lay writing the most famous of Racine's interpreters, the most charming woman in France.

At her left hand, by the bed-side, stood a small crystal table, piled with dishes of white and purple grapes, while on the quilt to her right hand she had tossed a half-finished letter, with the pounce still glistening on the last page.

'Une personne attendue depuis très-longtemps arrive enfin ce soir, selon les apparences en assez bonne santé. Un courrier vient de devancer, parce que la berline est cassée à trente lieues. On a fait partir une chaise, et, ce soir, on sera ici.'

Thus far she had written with ardour and quaint reticence. Her unpowdered head had fallen languidly back on to the lace pillow, and one hand, a small diamond hoop ring on the third finger, toyed with a miniature of the man for whose coming she waited.

It was the face of a dashing young fellow, 'circular black eyebrows, eyes glittering bright, partly with animal vivacity, partly with spiritual.' A man, who, when he comes, will stand six feet in his stockings, breaks horse-shoes with his hands, a man, ingenious, audacious, and understanding, although the 'worst speller ever known.'

The girl-woman with the smooth brow, pensive grey eyes, and mouth like a dewy rose, had lent her hero and lover 100,000 francs for his armed dash on Courland. He had failed, and he was returning home, hastening to her in the post-chaise, leaving her money on the battlefield, and his ambition in the broken berline.

It mattered little, for had he not rejected the hand of Anna Ivanovna, and temporalities and dukedoms, for the sake of the fair face, and the golden voice that he had so often heard declaim, when his eyes met hers,—'Voilà mon univers, mon espoir, et mes dieux.' She was Adrienne Le Couvreur, and he was Maurice de Saxe. Her thoughts, hovering over the long vista of years, carried her back, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Reims, to a little hatter's shop at Firmes, whose drowsy townsfolk she had electrified in her babyhood, by reciting verses, the sense of which neither she nor they could fully comprehend. She perfectly recollected the family

flitting to Paris—her Paris. She had smiled in remembrance of the fat grocer, who lived at the corner of the Rue de Ferou, where the neighbours used to gather to hear the slim girl of fifteen, with grey eyes and golden hair, play Polyeucte, with her youthful comrades. She could see now the fine ladies in rich brocade and priceless jewels,—they seemed priceless to her then,—who buzzed about her, and afterwards induced Le Grand, the comedian, to give her her first lessons in diction and deportment.

She cared less to think of the years that followed —of the slow moving caravans over the rough roads of Alsace and Lorraine, of a little girl-child born in Strasbourg, and of Philippe le Roy, officier de Monseigneur le duc de Lorraine, whom she seemed once to have loved. She could not think of him now without a shudder.

Then she remembered that wonderful spring of 1717 when, in her adored Paris, she first played Monime and Electra. It made her laugh to think how Voltaire, with his whimsical smile, had never called her by any name but Monime. He had told her that she had begun 'par où les grandes comédiennes finissent.' She had never forgotten that.

She could see herself, when she stepped on to the stage as Elizabeth of England, in 'Le Comte Essex,' and how determined she had been to be apparelled like a Queen, but to speak like a woman, and not, after the fashion of her predecessors, to supply by affected declamation the shortcomings of 'costume.' Someone, probably Voltaire, but she had forgotten, said that she looked like a princess,

who 'jouait la comédie pour son plaisir,' a remark which had captivated her. She knew that her voice had no deep tones, but she could vary its range and inflections with infinite skill, and people told her that her face was so mobile, and her action so true, that no audience could resist her charm.

The parts she loved best were those of Berenice and of Electra. Above all, she knew that she possessed the gift of contrast, she could pass instantly from grave to gay, without gesture and violent movement. In the art of listening she felt herself to be supreme, and in scenes mute and silent she had never been equalled. Who had told her this? She remembered. It was Coypel, when he painted her, leaning on the urn of Corneille.

Old Baron, the pupil of Molière, when he made his reappearance on the stage after many years, had praised her, and she laughed again at the thought of the crabbed philosopher grammarian, Du Marsais, who came, night after night, to the theatre, and when the house rang with plaudits was dumb, but at odd moments from the depths of his box could be heard murmuring 'C'est bon cela!'

Du Marsais had been a faithful friend, and perhaps some day in the distant years to come, should her fame be remembered, like that of Electra, in dramatic form, there might be woven with her story and Maurice's that of old Du Marsais, called by some fantastic name, Michonnet or another.

Yes, Maurice had eclipsed all other friends. The charming Fontenelle, the excellent Du Marsais, whimsical Voltaire, the loyal d'Argental, Peterborough, Caylus, d'Anfreville, and Rochemore—

friends and lovers alike, they were all of little account by the side of her hero. Would he come to-night or on the wings of the morning? He too had plunged early into the deep waters of life. If she, a girl of 15, had recited Polyeucte, he, a boy of 12, had fought at Malplaquet, and at 14 had been smilingly warned by Prince Eugene, on the battlefield, not to confound rashness with valour.

Her impetuous Maurice! She had recognized him there, but who knew, better than she, that the great historians of the future would speak not only of his courage and strength, but of his bravery tempered by 'vigilance, forethought and sagacious precaution.' Compared with his, the moral stature of other men dwindled. There was, indeed, d'Argental—the ardent brilliant boy who had wished to make her his wife. He too was loyal and brave. But this foolish desire of his raised difficult problems.

She knew that among French actresses she was the first to combine professional fame with personal consideration in high French society. Her dinners and suppers were famous and the fashion. She knew that as the mistress of Maurice de Saxe, she would still be received by ladies of rank who had curiosity and courage. Even the exclusive salon of Mme de Lambert, where dice and cards were forbidden, and rare talk encouraged, was open to her as the friend of Fontenelle. But to the wife of young d'Argental every door would be closed. There were subtle reasons for this curious law of social exclusion, which fine ladies of fashion and high birth, with marriageable sons, instinctively understood.

She had urged the boy to be reasonable, and she

had sent him away. 'Adieu, malheureux enfant. Vous me mettez au désespoir,' she had said to him, but still he persisted. She had written a letter, which perhaps 60 years afterwards he might be destined to find among his mother's papers.

'Paris. 22 *Mars*, 1721. Madame, je ne puis apprendre sans m'affliger vivement, l'inquiétude où vous êtes et les projets que cette inquiétude vous fait faire.

'Je pourrais ajouter que je n'ai pas moins de douleur de savoir que vous blâmez ma conduite ; mais je vous écris moins pour la justifier que pour vous protester qu'à l'avenir, sur ce qui vous intéresse, elle sera telle que vous voudrez me la prescrire. J'avais demandé mardi la permission de vous voir, dans le dessein de vous parler avec confiance et de vous demander vos ordres. Votre accueil détruisit mon zèle, et je ne me trouvai plus que de la timidité et de la tristesse. Il est cependant nécessaire que vous sachiez au vrai mes sentiments, et, s'il m'est permis de dire quelque chose de plus, que vous ne dédaigniez pas d'écouter mes très-humbles remontrances, si vous ne voulez pas perdre monsieur votre fils. C'est le plus respectueux enfant et le plus honnête homme que j'aie jamais vu de ma vie. Vous l'admireriez, s'il ne vous appartenait pas.

'Encore une fois, madame, daignez vous joindre à moi pour détruire une faiblesse qui vous irrite, et dont je ne suis pas complice, quoi que vous disiez. Ne lui témoignez ni mépris ni aigreur ; j'aime mieux me charger de toute sa haine, malgré l'amitié tendre et la vénération que j'ai pour lui, que de l'exposer à la moindre tentation de vous manquer.

'Vous êtes trop intéressée à sa guérison pour n'y pas travailler avec attention, mais vous l'êtes trop pour y réussir toute seule, et surtout en combattant son goût par autorité ou en me peignant sous des couleurs désavantageuses, fussent-elles véritables. Il faut bien que cette passion soit extraordinaire, puisqu'elle subsiste depuis si longtemps sans nulle espérance, au milieu des dégoûts, malgré les voyages que vous lui avez fait faire, et huit mois de séjour à Paris sans me voir, au moins chez moi, et sans qu'il sût si je le recevrais de ma vie. Je l'ai cru guéri, et c'est ce qui m'a fait consentir à le voir dans ma dernière maladie. Il est aisé de croire que son commerce me plairait infiniment sans cette malheureuse passion, qui m'étonne autant qu'elle me flatte, mais dont je ne veux

pas abuser. Vous craignez qu'en me voyant il ne se dérange de ses devoirs et vous poussez cette crainte jusques à prendre des résolutions violentes contre lui. En vérité, madame, il n'est pas juste qu'il soit malheureux en tant de façons. N'ajoutez rien à mes injustices ; cherchez plutôt à l'en dédommager ; faites tomber sur moi tout son ressentiment, mais que vos bontés lui servent de dédommagement.

'Je lui écrirai ce qu'il vous plaira ; je ne le verrai de ma vie, si vous le voulez ; j'irai même à la campagne, si vous le jugez nécessaire ; mais ne le menacez plus de l'envoyer au bout du monde. Il peut être utile à sa patrie ; il fera les délices de ses amis ; il vous comblera de satisfaction et de gloire ; vous n'avez qu'à guider ses talents et laisser agir ses vertus. Oubliez, pendant un temps, que vous êtes sa mère, si cette qualité s'oppose aux bontés que je vous demande à genoux pour lui. Enfin, madame, vous me verrez plutôt me retirer du monde ou l'aimer d'amour que de souffrir qu'il soit à l'avenir tourmenté pour moi et par moi...'

Poor loyal d'Argental. He and Fontenelle were her faithful friends. Friendship was of much account to her. 'Je suis d'un sexe et d'une profession,' she had said, 'où l'on ne soupçonne pas volontiers cet honnête sentiment, l'unique que je désire, dont je sois flattée et dont j'ose me croire digne par la façon dont je le sens.' If she loved friendship, she was a little afraid of its enthusiasms, although of Fontenelle she had no fear. His friendship had been tested. 'Difficile à acquérir, mais plus difficile à perdre.' Thus she had described him, in the stately language of the eighteenth century, and thus he had always proved himself.

Her sex and profession ! They were her destiny she had said, and Voltaire had laughed. But she preferred Voltaire when he was grave, and passionately indignant. What had he said about her profession, about the influence of the stage, and its place in the national life ? Perhaps it was not

Voltaire, but Fontenelle who had remarked that a great actress was a high priestess of humanity. She knew the origin of the drama lay far back in the religious yearnings of mankind. The Greeks had confined tragedy to the deeds and sufferings of heroes. Was it not Plato who had defined tragedy as 'the imitation of the noblest life'? Did not the Dionysic theatre at Athens, like some vast church, hold 30,000 people, and did not Seneca use the Roman theatre as a pulpit?

Dilletantism and criticism threatened all forms of art, including the Drama, but spectacle and show, buffoonery and sensual allurement, were not the essence of dramatic literature, but rather the end of dramatic art, and the pitfall of dramatic artists.

It was true that actors and mountebanks had been excluded in early times from the benefit of the Christian Sacraments, and that the early Christian Church had condemned the stage and its votaries. Some fanatics might do so still. Yet St Gregory Nazianzen had used the tragic form of Drama for high moral purpose; and was not the Mass itself dramatic in idea and celebration?

The visual beauty or terror of an acted scene, the aural tragedy or pathos of spoken words, were sure pathways to the hearts of men. Humour too, provided that the player sought not to degrade what he ought to have recognized as good—even the humour of Aristophanes—was a tonic for the soul of man.

Nor was Drama humiliated, but often spiritualized by the elements of dance and song. Had not the great Lucan written librettos for pantomime?

Her art! The art of fine acting was not on a lower plane than the poetic or plastic arts. She well knew that the harmony and rhythm of Racine's verse found their way into the secret places of the soul, and mightily fastened there.

> 'Quel est ce dieu de qui l'art enchanteur
> Vous a donné votre gloire suprême?'

Voltaire had asked, and had answered his own question.

It was the glory of the stage that the functions of the actor in transforming the conception of the poet into the representation of a character became supremely creative. Was there any form of art, which required from its votaries, to be more distinctive, appropriate and consistent?

Some one had once told her that true art is not fanciful and imitative, but simple and ideal—the expression of the highest moral energy whether in action or repose—and that to live in that atmosphere is the best and most enduring of all influences. She could not remember in the literature of the world what names were more illustrious than those of Sophocles and Aeschylus, Shakespeare and Corneille. Were not their profoundest thoughts and their winged aspirations thrown into dramatic form? They were all writers for the stage, for that stage, which only barbarous nations looked down upon, and which the most highly civilized races have always exalted. It was Maurice who had once exclaimed—'For Corneille's tragedies to be appreciated, the audience should be composed of great administrators and ministers and Kings.'

And by whom should those great tragedies be interpreted?

She had tried hard never to exaggerate passion, and to touch the chords of tenderness and pathos, which lie nearest to tears.

> 'À son aspect tout coeur sera troublé;
> tous les esprits viendront lui rendre hommage.'

It was folly to pretend that a woman cannot 'play many parts' without destroying her own character, and leaving nothing which can be truly called herself. Observant Voltaire knew better, and she remembered the lines he had sent her, engraved on a bonbonnière, after some merry parting:

> 'Adieu, divinité du parterre adorée,
> Vous, Iris, que le ciel envoya parmi nous
> pour unir à jamais Minerve et Cythérée,
> et la vertu sincère aux plaisirs les plus doux!
> Faites le bien d'un seul et le désir de tous
> et puissent vos amours égaler la durée
> de la pure amitié que mon coeur a pour vous!'

Were these the verses of a poet who believed an actress to be mere paste and powder?

There was another, too, it may have been some old Greek, who had said that tragedy and serious drama are a purification of the passions by pity and fear, and that every man and woman with sensibility had been elevated by having to deliver noble verse or portray fine character.

She herself had so often felt that to have the music of great verse in the soul was to be in love with the loveliest things.

She had heard acting compared to oratory; and old Du Marsais had told her that eloquence was

rarely combined with steadfastness of character. It might be so, for God distributed his favours queerly ; and the perfume of the violet was not the perfume of the rose.

No one could realize more clearly the dangers and degradations to which women exposed themselves, who adopted the stage as a profession. The untrammelled intercourse, the glamour of the footlights, the free display of youth and beauty, were lures to catch the imagination of young men and maidens. Afterwards when failure or satiety or age crept into the midst of thoughtless thriftless gaiety, there followed, often alas, sordid poverty and tragic regret. The weakness of women and the heartlessness of men were stage properties in the drama of the professional lives of most of her companions.

And yet if the unworthiness of a priest renders not less valid the holy sacrament of the Church, why should not the stage worthily take the place of the Church in a future within measurable distance ?

She had noticed, even in her short life, a visible decline in the grip of the Catholic religion, with all its dramatic splendour of form, upon the minds of her countrymen. Were not all religions becoming more subjective, and less a matter of external beauty ?

Yet, men's hearts had not changed, and women loved and longed for dramatic effect. They, at any rate, hated the dreamland of metaphysics. What was there except the theatre, with its vivid objective appeal to the senses, which could take the place of the incense and music and mysterious ceremonial of the Catholic Church, upon which her friend

Voltaire was for ever sharpening his aggressive wit? Certainly not the poetised astronomy of her other friend Fontenelle.

Centuries ago she knew the stage had been used for the fulfilment of national purpose, for fostering national aspirations, and recalling heroic ancestral deeds. Why should not men and women, as the beautiful ecclesiastical ceremonial disappeared, and as men wandered less into the great Gothic shrines, satisfy their sense of beauty by frequenting the theatre?

Theatrical representation was becoming daily more gorgeous. She herself had created a new vogue in theatrical costume. Raphael had painted theatrical scenery years ago in Rome. Why should not Watteau and Boucher, and the great artists unborn, paint primarily for the stage, as whole generations of them had decorated the Churches?

If the Greeks did not shrink from historical themes on the stage, even when the tragedy was as deep as the Capture of Miletus; if the monks had not scrupled to use the stage for their miracle plays; and if the patriot dramatists of England and Spain had crowded the scene with historical figures, and appealed to the political instincts of their countrymen; why should not world-bettering doctrine, which for ages men had preached under the domes of Cathedrals, be, in future, presented through the more exciting medium of dramatic representation, on the boards of a theatre?

In spite of contemptuous social ostracism, instigated by men and women saturated with the Hebraic rather than the Hellenic spirit, might not

the gifted Jewish race find, in the future, rare exponents of dramatic literature from among the daughters—the Rachels and Sarahs—of the chosen people ?

If her whimsical Voltaire had not the masculine energy and poetic weightiness of the mighty Corneille, he had enough elegance and grace and vivifying wit to become the inspirer of a new era in dramatic art. The world of every-day, the optimism of youth, the pessimism of age, the soul of the people, all these might some day find exponents, in organ-like richness of music, upon the stage where her name might still linger, like some delicate fragrance, in the memory of her beloved Paris.

Hers was a sacred calling. It was true that curious phrase, which some one had used, and she knew herself—a great actress—to be a high-priestess of humanity. Vicariously, with head erect, and intrepid heart, she bore the burden of other women's sins.

Her soft gray eyes turned slowly to the miniature which lay under her hand. The gloaming had come, and she could no longer see his face. Was it indeed sinful, this great love of hers for Maurice ? Perhaps Fontenelle was right, and men could not be sure of reading the stars or the heart of God.

Hark ! what was that ? The rumble of wheels over the paved street. The flash of a torch. There was a quick strong step in the anteroom. The ring of a spur. The clash of a sword flung hastily away —and then—oblivion.

ESHER.

ON A DRAWING OF GARRICK BY HOGARTH

Special students of Garrick and of Hogarth are familiar with the rare plate by Basire, after Hogarth's design, which decorates the two early editions of Garrick's playlet or interlude in verse called *The Farmer's Return from Town*: or should decorate them, for from many copies it has been cut away. This little piece, written and produced for Mrs Pritchard's benefit in March 1762, is but a hundred and odd lines long, can have taken scarce ten minutes to act, and makes in its original shape the slenderest of all possible quartos. Garrick gives as his excuse for printing such a trifle the fact that Hogarth, to whom he dedicates it, was willing to contribute a frontispiece. Here is the dedication:—

The following Interlude was prepared for the Stage, merely with a View of assisting Mrs. *Pritchard* at her Benefit; and the Desire of serving so good an Actress, is a better Excuse for its Defects, than the few Days in which it was written, and represented. Notwithstanding the favourable Reception it has met with, the Author would not have printed it, had not his Friend, Mr. *Hogarth*, flattered him most agreeably, by thinking *The Farmer and his Family* not unworthy of a Sketch of his Pencil. To Him, therefore, this Trifle, which he has so much honoured, is inscribed, as a faint Testimony of the sincere Esteem which the Writer bears him, both as a *Man* and as an *Artist.*



David Garrick
in
The Farmer's Return From Town
From an Original Drawing by
WILLIAM HOGARTH

Basire's plate is exact and workmanlike, but to some extent modifies the character of Hogarth's work by translating his broad and bold pen lines into engraved lines relatively thin and delicate. Students may be glad to see the accompanying reduced facsimile from Hogarth's original drawing[1], which had remained for many years, known to very few persons, in the collection of the late Mr William Mitchell. Recently, on his death, it passed by bequest into the hands of the Hon. Mrs A. E. Gathorne Hardy, the daughter of his greatest friend; to whom I am indebted for permission to reproduce it.

Hogarth's earlier drawings for the engravers are as a rule done in Indian-ink wash, with pen outlines in sepia, and generally these outlines, however expressive, have something of a wavering and tentative character, as of an artist feeling his way as he goes. The present drawing, done two years before the artist's death, is in pen only, without washed shadows, and the lines are as bold and decided as the composition and gestures are animated. There is a picture by Zoffany, an incisive and vigorous enough master at his best, of the same scene in the same playlet, in which everything looks tame and wooden by comparison, and instead of the rugged and convincing vitality of Garrick's pose, gesture, and make-up, as Hogarth has rendered them in his little drawing, we get something

[1] The true dimensions are $6\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ ins. The only thing known of the history of the drawing before Mr Mitchell acquired it is that it was sold in 1845 with the collection of Mr H. P. Standly of Paxton Place, St Neots, and bought by Messrs Colnaghi.

merely stagey and dead-alive[1]. Hogarth must have taken particular pains with his preliminary studies in this case. Samuel Ireland in his *Illustrations* gives a reproduction of another and larger study by him from life for the same figure of Garrick, to all appearance authentic, with a separate sketch of the twists and puckers into which the actor pulled his features for the part. How complete, and how deceptive, even under the test of daylight, Garrick's disguise as the old farmer could be is proved by the following story, told rather clumsily by the same Samuel Ireland :—

A servant was sent with an invitation from a lady of fashion to Garrick, one evening, when he was dressed for the part of Abel Drugger. Garrick desired him, in the voice and manner of the character he was about to personate, to leave the card. The mimickry was so consummately executed, that the servant refused to leave the message, as he was sure that it was not Mr. Garrick, whom he had often seen, and with whose person he was well acquainted.

The story being related by Garrick to Dr. Hawkesworth, the latter gentleman seemed entirely to discredit it, alledging that such a deception was altogether impossible. The Actor immediately laid a wager with the Doctor, that he would practice with success the same piece of humor with him. Accordingly, not long after this conversation, he habited himself in the character of the Farmer, in his Interlude of that title, and put up his horse at a public house on the Hampton road, not long before he [Dr. Hawkesworth] passed, on the way to Garrick's house. When the Doctor was gone by, he mounted and overtook him. In the course of their conversation, the Farmer enquired to what house he was going : to which the Doctor answered, to Mr. Garrick's ! I know him well, replied his companion, for he is my landlord, and I am going in a day or two to pay him my rent. They parted, and Garrick having changed his dress, received his friend, who was entirely ignorant of the deception. The next morning Garrick put on the same dress ; and coming into the parlour, where

[1] Mezzotinted by J. G. Haid, 1766.

Hawkesworth was sitting, was immediately recognized [as his companion of the day before] by the Doctor, who entered into a conversation with him. At length Garrick revealed himself, and the Doctor confessed that he had lost the wager.

Slight as this little interlude is, it was 'much applauded,' says Arthur Murphy, 'and hotly called for during the remainder of the season'; partly, no doubt, because of Garrick's skill in playing it, partly because of the deftness with which in his text he had touched on topics that were for the moment the talk and excitement of both town and country. Their echoes have for many of us an interest still. The moment figured by Hogarth is that when the old farmer, just back from his visit to town, scares his family by telling them that he has been sitting up with a ghost—attending a spiritualist séance as we might say in modern parlance. Here is the passage, with most of the fifty lines leading up to it:—

WIFE.

But was't thou at Court, Jahn?—What *there* hast thou seen?

FARMER.

I saw 'em—Heav'n bless 'em—you know whom I mean.
I heard their Healths pray'd for—agen and agen,
With Provoiso that *One* may be sick now and then.
Some Looks speak their Hearts, as it were with a Tongue—
O Dame!—I'll be damn'd, if they e'er do us Wrong:
O Dame!—bless 'em boath—do you take the Jug;
Woud't do their Hearts good—I'd swallow the Mug. [*Drinks*]

. . . .

WIFE.

What more did'st thou see, to beget Admiration?

FARMER.

The City's fine Show,—but first the Crownation!
'Twas thof all the World had been there with their Spouses;
There was Street within Street, and Houses on Houses!

I thought from above, (when the Folk fill'd the Pleaces)
The Street pav'd with Heads, and the Walls made of Feaces!
Such Justling and Bustling!—'twas worth all the pother.
—I hope, from my Soul, I shall ne'er see another.

SAL.

Dad, what did you see at the Pleays, and the Shows?

FARMER.

What did I see at the Pleays and the Shows?
Why Bouncing and Grinning, and a Pow'r of fine Cloaths:
From Top to the Bottom 'twas all 'Chanted Ground!
Gold, Painting, and Music, and Blaazing all round!

. . . .

I saw a new Pleay too—they call'd it The *School*—
I thought it pure Stuff—but I thought like a Fool—
'Twas *the School of*—pize on it!—my Mem'ry is naught—
The Greaat Ones disliked it—they heate to be taught:
The *Cratticks* too grumbled—and I'll tell you for whoy,
They wanted to laugh—and were ready to croy.

WIFE.

Pray what are your *Cratticks*?

FARMER.

Like Watchmen in Town,
Lame, Feeble, half-blind, yet they knock Poets down.
Like old Justice *Wormwood*,—a Crattick's a Man,
That can't sin himself,—and he heates those that can.
I ne'er went to *Opras*!—I thought it too grand,
For *poor* Folks to like what they don't understand.
The top Joke of all, and what pleased me the moast,
Some Wise ones and I sat up with a Ghoast.

WIFE and CHILDREN.

A Ghoast! [*Starting.*]

FARMER.

Yes, a Ghoast!

WIFE.

I shall swoond away, Love!

FARMER.

Odzooks!—thou'rt as bad as thy Betters above!
With her Nails, and her Knuckles, she answer'd so noice!
For *Yes* she knock'd *Once*, and for *No* she knock'd *Twoice*.
I ask'd her *one* Thing—

WIFE.

What Thing?

FARMER.

If yo', Dame, was true?

WIFE.

And the poor Soul knocked *One*.

FARMER.

By the Zounds, it was *Two*.

WIFE.

I'll not be abus'd, *John*. [*Cries.*]

FARMER.

Come, prithee no Croying,
The Ghoast, among Friends, was much giv'n to Loying.

The three town topics with which the Farmer thus regales his family are the recent marriage and coronation festivities of George III and Queen Charlotte; Garrick's own successful production of Whitehead's genteel comedy, *The School for Lovers*; and the famous, even now imperfectly explained, mystery of the Cock Lane ghost. The young King and Queen had been crowned at Westminster, with great pomp and public rejoicing, on September 22, 1761, and the City festival in their honour was held on next Lord Mayor's day, November 9. The Cock Lane scratchings and rappings first became a matter of public talk and sensation in January, 1762. The

School for Lovers was not produced until February 10 following; so that to come back full of all these matters Garrick's farmer must have been away in London for a surprisingly long jaunt, not less than five months.

As to the coronation rejoicings not much need be said. The curious may read a full relation of them, official and non-official, in Richard Thomson's *A Faithful Account of the Processions and Ceremonies observed in the Coronation of the Kings and Queens of England: exemplified in that of their late Sacred Majesties King George the Third and Queen Charlotte* (London, 1820). Goldsmith, in an Essay written during the bustle of the preparations, moralizes, in the Johnsonian vein not really natural to his temperament, on the extravagant cost and fleeting nature of the pleasures of pageantry; and in one of the letters of the *Citizen of the World* he repeats the same sentiments in different language in the person of his Chinese traveller. Horace Walpole, writing two days after the event, describes it in phrases oddly parallel to the Farmer's own:—

> I am going to let London cool, and will not venture into it again this fortnight. O! the buzz, the prattle, the crowds, the noise, the hurry! If I was to entitle ages, I would call this 'the century of crowds.' For the coronation, if a puppet show could be worth a million, that is. The multitudes, balconies, guards, and processions, made Palace-yard the liveliest spectacle in the world: the hall was the most glorious. The blaze of lights, the richness and variety of habits, the ceremonial, the benches of peers and peeresses, frequent and full, was as awful a pageant as can be; and yet for the King's sake and my own, I never wish to see another.

William Whitehead, poet-laureate, and his *School for Lovers* may detain us a little longer, in

this place at any rate, since he was a Cambridge man of note in his day; a friend of Gray's friend, William Mason, who wrote a memoir of him for the collected edition of his poems; and withal a modest and amiable gentleman aware of his own limitations, with a neat, elegant, unoriginal and unadventurous talent both in verse and prose. Appointed laureate after Colley Cibber's death in 1757, when Gray had refused the office, he may, in respect of the posthumous oblivion into which his name has fallen, be almost compared with those earlier and later laureates of the same century, Laurence Eusden and James Pye. Whitehead was the son of a college baker; he entered in 1735 as a sizar of Clare Hall, where he afterwards obtained a fellowship; became the friend, as it appears without servility, of various distinguished persons, and is said to have done much as private tutor to form the character and manners of a great gentleman, the fourth Earl of Jersey, in whose family he was always afterwards intimate. Garrick had already produced two tragedies in verse by him, one founded on Corneille's *Horace*, the other on the *Ion* of Euripides. The prose comedy of the *School for Lovers* is an adaptation from one by Fontenelle, *Le Testament*, the scene and characters being transplanted from ancient Greece to modern England. The story turns on the scruples of a 'gentleman of nice honour,' Sir John Dorilant, to take advantage of the terms of the will by which a young girl, Caelia Beverley, has been both entrusted to his care as guardian and enjoined to accept his hand as husband. Whitehead styles himself in his

dedication a 'lover of simplicity'; he was a timorous observer of the unities and of tradition, and defends his practice against that of more lawless playwrights in some lines of a prologue which Garrick thought it advisable to touch up and enliven.

Previous successes, he declares, on the same scene have not made him vain :—

He owns, with gratitude, th' obliging debt ;
Has twice been favour'd, and is modest yet.
Plain Tragedy, his first adventurous care,
Spoke to your hearts, and found an echo there.
Plain Comedy to-night, with strokes refin'd,
Would catch the coyest features of the mind :
Would play politely with your hopes and fears,
And sometimes smiles provoke, and sometimes tears.

Your giant wits, like those of old, may climb
Olympus high, and step o'er space and time ;
May stride, with seven-leagu'd boots, from shore to shore,
And, nobly by transgressing, charm you more:
Alas! our author dares not laugh at schools,
Plain sense confines his humbler Muse to rules.
Form'd on the classic scale his structures rise;
He shifts no scenes to dazzle and surprize.
In one poor garden's solitary grove,
Like the primæval pair, his lovers rove :
And in due time will each transaction pass,
—Unless some hasty critic shakes the glass.

The comings and goings of the personages in the garden, their exits and entrances, soliloquies and overhearings, are managed with extreme simplicity indeed : the plot is of the mildest, without surprises or climaxes ; the humour has little, one would have said, to make an audience laugh, the sentiment nothing to make them weep. There is scant vitality in the male parts, the two beaux from town and the scrupulous, devoted country guardian ; and

not very much more in the female, Caelia the ingenuous ward, dazzled for a while by the love-making of Modely the man of fashion; Araminta, Sir John's sister, to whom Modely is really plighted and in the end returns; and Lady Beverley, Caelia's mother, who fosters Modely's flirtation with her daughter in order to angle for Sir John on her own account. The success of the play must have been due in great part to Mrs Cibber, Mrs Clive, and Mrs Yates, the three most brilliant actresses of their day, who played these parts respectively. But Garrick was also admired as Sir John Dorilant, though one wonders where his intense mercurial temperament can possibly have found scope in the part. At any rate the result was such as to confirm him in his preconceived respect for the author's judgment. For some years thereafter he employed Whitehead regularly as reader of plays for Drury Lane, and in 1767 wanted to make him referee, to Goldsmith's indignation, on the question whether and with what alterations the *Good-Natured Man* should be played there. As to the 'cratticks,' who were, as the Farmer tells us, against the laureate's play, one of them only need concern us; namely the truculent Charles Churchill, who in the previous year had leaped into sudden fame as author of the *Rosciad* and a scourge and terror of the stage. To-day perhaps the most living piece of literature connected with Whitehead is Churchill's invocation of him in the third book of the *Ghost*, published soon after the success of the *School for Lovers* in 1762. Lacking the hectoring brutality which Churchill commonly vents upon his victims,

the passage has both finish and relative moderation, and is a not wholly unfair portrait in an unfriendly way :—

COME METHOD, come in all thy pride,
DULLNESS and WHITEHEAD by thy side,
DULLNESS and METHOD still are one,
And WHITEHEAD is their darling son.
Not HE, whose pen above controul
Struck terror to the guilty Soul,
Made Folly tremble thro' her state,
And Villains blush at being Great;

[this is an allusion to Paul Whitehead, no relation to William, but a hack political satirist and pamphleteer, secretary and steward of the infamous Medmenham brotherhood, with whom Churchill himself was afterwards to cross swords, or rather bludgeons, violently] ;

But HE, who in the Laureat Chair,
By Grace, not Merit planted there,
In awkward pomp is seen to sit,
And by his patent proves his Wit ;

. . . .

. . . .

But HE—who measures, as he goes,
A mongril kind of tinkling prose,
And is too frugal to dispense
At once both Poetry and Sense,
Who, from amidst his slumb'ring guards,
Deals out a charge to *Subject Bards*,
Where Couplets after Couplets creep,
Propitious to the reign of sleep,
Yet ev'ry word imprints an awe,
And all his dictates pass for law,
With BEAUX who simper all around,
And BELLES, who die in ev'ry sound ;

[the reference here is to Whitehead's recently published critical piece, *A Charge to the Poets*, a kind of postscript to his Epistle *On the Danger of writing in Verse* published twenty years earlier] ;

But HE—who, *happily serene*,
Means nothing, yet would seem to mean ;

Who rules and cautions can dispense
With all that humble insolence,
Which Impudence in vain would teach,
And none but *modest* men can reach;
Who adds to SENTIMENTS the grace
Of being always out of place,
And drawls out MORALS with an air
A Gentleman would blush to wear;
Who on the *chastest*, simplest plan,
As *Chaste* as *simple* as the Man,
Without or *Character* or *Plot*,
NATURE unknown, and ART forgot,
Can with much racking of the brains,
And years consum'd in letter'd pains,
An heap of words together lay,
And smirking call the thing a Play;
Who, Champion sworn in Virtue's cause,
'Gainst Vice his *tiny bodkin* draws,
But, to no part of *Prudence* stranger,
First blunts the point for fear of danger.

. . . .

. . . .

THEE, WHITEHEAD, Thee I now invoke,
Sworn foe to Satyr's gen'rous stroke,
Which makes unwilling conscience feel,
And wounds, but only wounds to heal.
Good-natured, easy Creature, mild,
And gentle as a new-born Child,
Thy *heart* would never once admit
E'en wholesome rigour to thy Wit,
Thy *head*, if Conscience should comply,
Its kind assistance would deny,
And lend thee neither force, nor art,
To drive it onward to thy heart.
O may thy sacred pow'r controul
Each fiercer working of my Soul,
Damp every spark of genuine fire,
And languors, like thine own, inspire;
Trite be each thought, and ev'ry Line
As *Moral*, and as *Dull* as thine.

The above portrait will not compare for bite and grip with the famous one of Dr Johnson as Pomposo

in an earlier book of the same poem; but the difference is quite in accord with the different calibre of the two personages flouted. The satire of the *Ghost*, in which both these characters appear, is a rambling and in the main dreary piece in four books, published at intervals in 1762 and 1763, and expressing Churchill's hatreds and likings with digressions and parenthetical sallies avowedly suggested by Sterne's method in *Tristram Shandy*. These quite overlay the original purpose of the satire, which was to attack the credulity and superstition of the public, lettered and unlettered alike, in the notorious matter of the Cock Lane mystery.

And this brings us round to Garrick and his Farmer. When the Farmer teases his wife by telling her of the answers rapped out by the ghost to his questions about her behaviour in his absence, he is parodying the replies given by 'Scratching Fanny' to those who questioned her through the child-medium Elizabeth Parsons. The story is well known: how one Fanny Lynes became the mistress of her brother-in-law William Kent after his wife's death; how one night, in their lodging in Cock Lane off Newgate Street, the child Elizabeth Parsons, a daughter of the landlord, was sleeping with her in Kent's absence when they were both disturbed by mysterious scratchings and rappings; how after some time the lovers moved to a new lodging at Clerkenwell, where Fanny died,—of small-pox, as the doctors duly certified; and how before long the mysterious noises began again in Cock Lane, seeming to come always from about the bed and person of the child Parsons.

Her father maintained that they proceeded from a ghost who desired through her to answer questions by means of knocks signifying yes or no, exactly as more modern ghosts have been in the habit of answering them. Thus interrogated, the spirit revealed herself as that of Fanny Lynes, and declared that she had not really died of small-pox, but of poison administered by Kent. (A pertinent, and for Parsons in the end a damning, fact was that he had just been cast in a suit brought against him by Kent for an unpaid debt.) The matter was bruited abroad; crowds of the curious, both fashionable and vulgar, pressed to witness the scratching and rapping phenomena in the cramped, dirty, and stifling tenement where the Parsons family lived. A famous letter of Walpole's tells of his negative experiences on such an occasion. Solemn tests and investigations were set on foot. The great Pomposo himself, that flail and hammer of impostors and all whom he took for such, attended one such investigation at which the spirit of Fanny Lynes was solemnly adjured to reveal herself, first in the child's chamber, and afterwards beside her own burial-place at St John's Church, Clerkenwell. But no sounds nor signs came. Johnson sent a short account of the matter to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and believed himself by his 'exposure' to have settled it for good and all, but got angry when Boswell pressed him a little closely with questions as to what actually happened. Goldsmith followed suit in a pamphlet called *The Mystery Revealed*, for which Newbery the publisher is said to have paid him three guineas, and which bears evident signs of Johnson's inspiration. Under

a later test the child was caught producing with her toes, by an extremely simple artifice, fraudulent noises which were acknowledged, however, to be quite different from the original noises heard under other conditions. The matter ended with the trial and condemnation of Parsons and some of his household for conspiracy: Parsons was sentenced to the pillory and three years' imprisonment, but the public, grateful for the double thrill of the supernatural and the scandalous which his daughter had provided for them, got up a subscription for him in his disgrace. As for the daughter herself, she is said to have grown up and to have married twice, the second time a market-gardener. The story has been re-told with new lights by Mr Andrew Lang, who contends that the so-called exposure by no means fully explains the mystery, and brings the case into relation with a whole group of other rapping and scratching cases almost exactly similar, which have been recorded as occurring at the most diverse times and places.

So much by way of gossip concerning the literary and other associations connected with Garrick's playlet and Hogarth's frontispiece. Let me in conclusion add a word in memory of the fine amateur and kindly gentleman, Mr William Mitchell, on whose study walls the original drawing hung so long. No public notice was taken of his death when it occurred in December 1908 : yet he was a not inconsiderable public benefactor. In early life he had made a moderate fortune sheep-farming in Australia. His middle and later years were spent in London, with frequent visits to the

home of his bosom friend John Malcolm of Poltalloch, the great Argyleshire Laird and famous collector, as well as to connections of his own in Germany. The hobby and amusement of his life was art collecting, and it was probably the German strain in his blood that made him turn by preference to the works of the German schools in the sixteenth century. His collection of the woodcuts of Dürer and his contemporaries, formed, sifted, and perfected through many years with impeccable knowledge and taste, came in the end to be one of the finest in Europe. He always destined his treasures for the British Museum, as every good collector should ; and he went beyond the usual merit of even the best collectors, in that he did not wait to leave them to the nation by his will, but handed them over with rare generosity during his lifetime. He was also influential in procuring other benefactions for the nation. It was by his advice that his friend the Laird presented the famous Sforza Book of Hours to the department of Manuscripts, and also, I believe (though this seems uncertain), that the Laird's heir, the late Lord Malcolm, was induced to offer to the nation his father's magnificent collections of drawings and engravings for a price which was in effect a mere acknowledgment and represented little more than a third of their value. The offer was accepted by the Treasury under Sir William Harcourt, and the acquisition is one of the greatest ever made by a Museum department. Personally, Mitchell was a type and pattern of the old school of English amateurs, founders and frequenters of the Burlington Club, so

many of whom have now passed away. Next to Malcolm of Poltalloch, his closest friend was perhaps that charming, delicately ironic and poetic spirit, Frederick Locker-Lampson, like himself a collector of innate fine tact and instinct. As we, his juniors, knew him in London, it was impossible to associate Mitchell with ideas of the sheep-run and the bush. Six feet two or three in height, spare and straight as a ramrod, fresh-coloured even in extreme old age, always scrupulously well trimmed and groomed, rather formal in manner even with his friends, and not without a touch of hauteur towards strangers, he had a town-bred air and bearing which seemed to exclude the idea of rough colonial experiences in his past. At the same time he had some strong country tastes, and was a collector of other things besides German art. He was learned in some branches of natural history, and made a great collection of Palaearctic birds' eggs. Moreover he was a devoted gardener, and established a fine rock-garden at Poltalloch, where during the later years of his inseparable friend the Laird he spent a great, if not the greater, part of his time. His gifts to the British Museum will always serve to keep his name alive among those who may hereafter share his tastes. But it seemed unfitting that he should pass away without some words of personal record in addition.

Sidney Colvin.

ON PORTRAITS AT THE UNIVERSITIES

The interchange of thought and learning, which has been made possible in recent years by the ever increasing links of communication, as they bind by degrees into one human whole the great civilizations of the world, which formerly seemed so far apart and so hopelessly divergent, has brought home to our Western minds in all our arrogant self-satisfaction with our intellectual and scientific progress the somewhat humiliating discovery that in many of the laws which govern human society, legislative, religious or artistic, Western civilization was anticipated centuries before by that of the East. In some cases indeed such as the moral codes of Confucius and Sakyamuni it is lamentable to think how far human society had departed from such high ideals during the five or six centuries which preceded the birth of Jesus Christ and the great moral revival of Christianity. There is nothing surprising therefore at the present day in being told that in the teaching of art and music as valuable assets in the moral welfare of a nation the doctrines of Plato had been anticipated by no less a teacher than Confucius.

It is deeply interesting to find that Confucius included among the stimulating products of art portraits of great men of the past, as examples to be set before the minds of a rising generation. So narrow has been the scope of our little historical knowledge, so confined its horizon, that the brain reels at the thought of portraits of by-gone great men being invoked to stimulate the energies of a people six centuries before the coming of Christ, and eighteen centuries at least before any such idea began to force itself on the imaginations of our degenerate ancestors in the West. *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona* has quite a modern ring about the words, and seems nearer to Granger's *Biographical History of England* than it does to the Confucian theory of empire and society.

We must be content therefore to retrace but a small portion of the world's history in order to discover what part, if any, portraits of by-gone great men have played in the progress of the two great Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. It will not be necessary to journey back to the early and mythical period of the history of these Universities. It will be sufficient to note that the thirteenth century, during which the Universities first established their hold upon the nation, was a period of considerable advance in the practice of painting and other fine arts in England. Painting was not however yet brought into domestic use, but was a mark of splendour and luxury, meet only for the king's palace or for the sanctuary of the Church. Tradition moreover had reserved the privilege of a portrait for royal personages or officials of the

highest distinction, civil or ecclesiastical. The art of portraiture could therefore in no sense be called popular, and it did not play any part in the educational system of the Middle Ages. It was not until the middle of the fourteenth century that portrait painting in a modern sense began to form itself, first through the miniatures in illuminated manuscripts, then the votive painting or epitaph, and finally the detached and portable painting, which not only commemorated the personality of the dead, but began also to be used to bear and preserve the counterfeit of the living. This advance in the art of portraiture was assisted, and indeed made practicable, by the important innovations in the art of painting in oil-colours, which are connected with the names of Hubert and Jan van Eyck, and a little later of Antonello da Messina. The old paintings in *tempera* on a ground of *gesso*, laid upon a hard and non-absorbent ground of stone, metal, or wood, gave way to the more flexible and plastic method of oil-painting, under the influence of which the *table* or painting on panel gradually gave way to the *stained cloth* or painting on linen and canvas. The development of portraiture was also greatly stimulated by that singular and important movement in the intellectual life of the Western hemisphere, known as the Renaissance, whereby the whole course of medieval thought and culture was violently checked at a period of great interest which contained any amount of undeveloped possibilities. Education, which was confined at that date mainly to the governing classes, was suddenly thrown back upon the classical traditions of Greece and Rome, under

the tyranny of which education has laboured even up to the present day. However great and fruitful may have been the benefits derived from this intellectual revolution, it was at the moment a step backwards. The mind may be permitted to imagine what would have been the intellectual progress of England and France had the Renaissance never taken place. Would the philosophy of the Middle Age, the thirst for knowledge and learning which gave birth to the great Universities, have proceeded more rapidly to the great scientific discoveries of the nineteenth century, if the path of intellectual development had not been crossed by the peerless literature of Greece and the magisterial lessons of Roman civilization ?

One great benefit to humanity was however rendered by the Renaissance, in that it released the Western mind to a great extent from subservience to a hidebound tradition of ecclesiastical dogma, such as obtains even in the twentieth century in the Orthodox Church of Eastern Europe. It brought into greater prominence the importance of the Human problem, as a supplement and necessary corollary to the Divine. The idea of Jesus Christ, and later that of the Virgin Mother, ceased to be mere formulas, as rigid as those of Egypt or Assyria, and became human realities, as concrete to the apprehending mind as the ideas of Apollo or of Pallas Athene in ancient Hellas. The increasing influence of Humanity in the government of both Church and State not unnaturally gave greater scope and encouragement to the art of portraiture, and to the perpetuation of the personality of individuals, on

the lines laid down some twenty centuries before by Confucius, as examples to be set before the minds of a rising generation.

In the introduction to that monumental work, the *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, by Prof. Willis and Mr J. Willis Clark, Dr Willis remarks that the University of the Middle Ages was a corporation of learned men, associated for the purposes of teaching, and that the only buildings required by such a corporation in the first instance were: a place to hold meetings and ceremonies, a library, and schools for teaching, or, as we should call them, lecture-rooms. When Walter de Merton in 1264 inaugurated the first collegiate foundation at Oxford he borrowed his statutes for corporate life from the existing monastic institutions, but he grafted these on to a free and secular life, devoted to study, not to religion, not to ritual or ceremony, and also not to handicraft. A few years later Balliol College at Oxford and Peterhouse at Cambridge were founded with a similar object, to be quickly followed by other notable foundations. The veto on the teaching of a handicraft is sufficient to account for the fact that the colleges, which resembled the monastic bodies in so many particulars, did not at the outset produce or encourage any of the fine arts, for the practice of which some of the monastic orders had made themselves renowned.

Mr J. W. Clark has however in this *Architectural History* pointed out that the plans of the early colleges were based upon the manorhouses and dwelling-places of the wealthy, and reproduced

some of the leading features in the domestic and private life of that age. These features included a central dining-room and a parlour, in which the family could meet. In a community, such as a monastic establishment or college, the dining-room or refectory would obviously be of considerable size, and the parlour capacious enough to seat a goodly number of the inmates of the house to say nothing of guests from outside. In early days the great wall-spaces of the hall were covered, where warmth was necessary, by some form of tapestry or woven hangings, and the same covering was used for the walls of the parlour and other living rooms in the house. By degrees the practice of covering the walls of the smaller rooms with woodwork or wainscotting was introduced, which considerably increased the comfort and amenities of indoor life. This system of wainscotting, or lambruscation, as it was then called, subsequently spread to the hall, and was almost invariably adopted in the buildings erected during the sixteenth century.

The panels of such wainscotting lent themselves readily to the decorative art of painting, which was in many cases lavishly expended on them according to the taste or caprice of the period. One form of adornment from a very early date in the thirteenth century, if not earlier, was to paint, either in a frieze, or a series of some sort, histories, emblems or portraits, real or imagined, of the sovereigns of the country. We read that when King Edward II in 1322 was at the Abbey of Gloucester, and was entertained by Abbot Thokey at a banquet, the king remarked on the portraits of preceding kings, which adorned the

panelling of the Abbot's parlour, and asked jocularly if his own portrait was likely to be added to the series. Many such series of regal portraits existed, which in course of time have got detached from their original wainscotting and are scattered about in a fragmentary way among private and public collections of portraits. The painted gallery, or painted closet, was a frequent incident in Elizabethan or Jacobean architecture, but few examples remain in their original condition.

Cambridge University happens to have preserved some vestiges of such a series. At Peterhouse the Old Combination Room, or Stone Parlour, was in former days wainscotted with small oblong panels, in the two upper rows of which were painted portraits of former Masters or Benefactors to the College, duly inscribed with their names, and a short panegyric in Latin verse. The exact date of these paintings is uncertain, but the wainscotting in the College appears to date from 1593—4, when the Library and a gallery then existing above it were built in accordance with the will of Dr Andrew Perne, Master of the College from 1553—1589, whose portrait appears in the series. Possibly the wainscotting containing these portraits was originally made for the aforesaid gallery as part of the Perne Memorial Building, and removed to the Stone Parlour when the gallery was diverted from its original use. In these portraits the Confucian doctrine was well set forth. The observant Fuller, writing about 1650, alludes to these portraits in the parlour at Peterhouse and remarks that "although

the bounty of the judicious is grounded on more solid motives than to be flattered thereinto by the fancy that their effigies shall be kept, yet such an ingenious memorial may be an encouragement to a patron's liberality." The history of these paintings helps to illustrate the perils undergone by works of art, which have the misfortune to belong to corporate bodies, such as colleges or learned societies. In the days of William Cole, the antiquary, about 1740, the Stone Parlour had ceased to be used as a Combination Room by the Fellows of Peterhouse, and, as Cole says, was "going to a visible decay." Cole, in order to preserve these portraits, "this laudable and very curious, and almost singular Piece of Antiquity in our University," prevailed on one of the Fellows, Erasmus Earle, to take an exact list of the portraits with their transcriptions and distichs. Soon after this was done the Master, no doubt with the best intentions, had the portraits all taken out of their panels, new framed, and hung up in his Lodge. Portraits unfortunately in an official residence, especially old panel portraits, suffer at one time from too much, at another from too little, care. If the former, it has usually resulted in their being scrubbed almost out of existence by the virtuous and diligent housemaid ; if the latter they have sometimes got into such a state of unsightly decay that it must have seemed a kindness to use them for lighting the fires. Thus displaced the portraits were no longer kept together in a series. Most of them were subsequently transferred to the College Hall, where they now hang. A

full list of the portraits with their inscriptions and Latin distichs is given in the *Architectural History* already referred to.

Neither the University nor the Colleges seem to have been much impressed by the value of portraits either as historical documents or pious memorials. Of the latter class the most conspicuous at Cambridge were probably the portraits of the Lady Margaret, the mother of Henry VII, who founded the Colleges of Christ's and St John's. These portraits are obviously from the circumstances of the foundations posthumous, and it is not quite certain when each portrait was acquired. Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, was a great patron of artists, including some of the earliest engravers working in England, but he did not do much to encourage the portraits of any person but himself. Before the reign of Elizabeth portrait-painting was but scantily practised, though the latter part of the sixteenth century was extremely prolific. As the seventeenth century progressed both Universities were strongly impressed by the new styles of architecture introduced by Inigo Jones and Sir Christopher Wren. Their principal buildings contained large rooms of a different character to the Tudor or Gothic period. Its wall-spaces were large, tapestry fell into disuse and neglect, wainscotting in small panels was considered old-fashioned. Instead were introduced the large panel of stone or wood, ornamented often with heavy festoons and other ornaments of the same materials, such as the carvings of Grinling Gibbons. Space was thus left for paintings of a much larger size,

such as adorned the vast saloons of an Italian palace, or for wall-paintings in the Italian style, such as those of Thornhill, Verrio, Laguerre, and their imitators. Unluckily the tyranny of the classical and academical traditions had brought Italian art to a pitch of decadence and impotence, which in the hands of English imitators became futile and wearisome. Oxford, having been for a short time the seat of the Court during the Civil War, became something of a centre of activity in different forms of art, and extended a ready but too unguarded patronage to the artists of the day.

Cambridge, lying away from such influences, was less influenced by this wave of misdirected artistic energy. One result of the change in ideas was to revive the demand for portraits of founders and benefactors, and these on a more imposing scale than before. Destined to fill large spaces on the walls of College Halls, Combination Rooms and Libraries, the size of a portrait was better esteemed than the merits of its execution. Old portraits were routed out from obscure nooks and corners, and from the old panel was built up a fine new portrait on canvas. The original was then in many cases laid aside again and allowed to perish, being looked upon as a funny old thing. Sometimes authorities, from which to copy portraits, had to be sought for from outside. Busts and half-lengths were converted into whole-lengths by the ready hands of such artists as Isaac Whood, Andrew Pond, J. Freeman, S. Slaughter and others. Thomas Hudson copied and made up portraits of Dr Barrow, John Ray, John Dryden, and Dr Bentley, which

were presented by divers benefactors to Trinity College, Cambridge, about the middle of the eighteenth century. One Valentine Ritts, or Ritz, resided in Cambridge itself and was much employed in such copies or enlargements. Cole speaks of him in 1743 as "a German Painter, who has lived in this Parish (Little St Maries) now 50 years, and is now very old; he was formerly no indifferent Copier; but now past his work."

The dangers attending those who seek for authority in portraiture is well illustrated by the case of the portraits of Dr Isaac Barrow, the famous scholar and mathematician and Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. In order to commemorate the great share of Dr Barrow in the foundation of the Library of Trinity College, Dr Samuel Knight, a Fellow of the College, had a large portrait of Dr Barrow painted, apparently by the aforesaid Valentine Ritts. This portrait was compiled from such authorities as existed, the best being the portrait of Dr Barrow, engraved *ad vivum* by David Loggan as a frontispiece to Barrow's works. In 1752 and 1753 the same Dr Knight and other benefactors presented a number of full-length portraits, compiled for the occasion, to the Hall of Trinity College. Among these benefactors was a Fellow, the Rev. Edmund Garforth, who presented full-length portraits of Dr Barrow and Dr Bentley by Hudson. Unfortunately Hudson, who only, as may be presumed, copied what was set before him, took as his authority an entirely different portrait to that already existing, very possibly having access to the bust portrait of Isaac Barrow, D.D.,

which still hangs at Wimpole. It is clear that the man depicted as Isaac Barrow at Wimpole cannot be the same as that engraved by Loggan or commemorated in the bust on his tomb in Westminster Abbey. It is certain that these latter portraits represent the famous Master of Trinity, and it must therefore be surmised that the portrait at Wimpole, and, as a corollary from this, the portrait in the Hall of Trinity College, represent another Dr Isaac Barrow, Bishop of Sodor and Man, himself a man of great distinction, though submerged by the greater fame of his namesake and contemporary, the Master of Trinity.

A more grotesque misuse of the art of portraiture was perpetuated by the University of Oxford in the reign of Charles II, when a curious outburst of patriotic atavism impelled the University authorities to employ a painter called William Sonmans, or Sunman, to paint a series of portraits of Founders and Benefactors to the University, which, when completed, were placed with due reverence and solemnity among the treasures of the Bodleian Library. Some of these by-gone heroes had not however bequeathed their counterfeit presentments to the University. The painter seems to have been given a free hand as to supplying such vacancies, and it has been recorded by a contemporary authority that the painter selected a stalwart blacksmith of the town to sit for the portrait of John de Baliol and a handsome apothecary's daughter of repute for the royal lady, Dervorguilla. Thomas Hearne, in his Remarks and Collections for 1713, speaking of one Mr Mug, or Mugg, formerly Com-

moner of University College, and afterwards B.A. of Magdalen Hall, and Rector of Stockton in Warwickshire, says "This gentleman is married, his Wife being Mrs Jenny Riggs, the famousest Beauty in Oxford when I was first entered, and 'tis most commonly reported that the Picture of Dervorguilla Balliol, hanging in the Gallery of the Bodleyan Library is a Representation of her, the Painter having Mrs Riggs all the Time in View." Handsome Jenny Riggs, or according to Antony à Wood Jenny Reeks, has however withstood the carping of critics and the ravages of time, and as late as 1908 appears nobly as Dervorguilla Baliol in a volume entitled *A Group of Scottish Women* by Harry Graham, with only a deprecatory allusion to the Reeks tradition. Similar absurdities were perpetrated at the same date in the series of Scottish kings, a hundred or more, painted by De Witt for the then newly restored palace of Holyrood-house in Edinburgh. The Oxford absurdity was however intensified some fifty years later, when John Faber, a mezzotint-engraver, published a series of engravings from these portraits, those mentioned, with others of an equally preposterous nature, being all described as "A Tabula in Bibli Bodleiana factam." To this day the blacksmith Baliol and the fair Dervorguilla figure in collections, in frames, and on sale-catalogues, and are accepted on the authority of their Bodleian origin as true historical documents.

In spite of all these incidents, and of the want of any systematic desire to collect portraits of deceased worthies, the two Universities have managed to get

together a very interesting and representative collection of portraits. Oxford has been particularly fortunate in having attached to the Bodleian Library a collection of historical portraits, which is in itself a National Portrait Gallery on a small scale. Moreover at Christ Church the collection of portraits is not only very extensive but of very high quality. St John's College, Oxford, has become accidentally possessed of portraits of peculiar and unusual interest. At Cambridge the portraits are less numerous, more scattered, and, speaking generally, of less value than many of those at Oxford. In May, 1884, the Cambridge Antiquarian Society held in the Fitzwilliam Museum an Exhibition of University and College portraits. This exhibition and a second, which succeeded it in May, 1885, were held with the object of obtaining a complete catalogue of all the portraits in the University to be published by the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. They were organised and arranged, almost single-handed, by Mr John Willis Clark, then President of the Society. These two exhibitions revealed the great number and interest of the portraits possessed by the University and the Colleges, and, if the actual object of the exhibitions has not as yet been attained, sufficient interest was aroused to promote a better care of such portraits in the future, and to encourage the use of additional portraits of distinguished members of the University on the true Confucian lines.

Twenty years later, in 1904, a committee of the Oxford Historical Society inaugurated at Oxford a series of three Loan Exhibitions of Portraits of

English Historical Personages, chiefly those connected with the history of the University. The object of these exhibitions was similar to that at Cambridge, to obtain a complete catalogue of the portraits in the possession of the University and the Colleges. This catalogue is now in course of formation as the result of these exhibitions. The exhibitions revealed the wealth of portraits belonging to Oxford University, especially since like the Cambridge exhibitions they did not include modern portraits after a certain date. At Oxford the responsibilities of the exhibition did not fall as at Cambridge merely upon one man, but were shared by several leading members of the University, who enjoyed moreover the advantage of having the curator of the Ashmolean Museum, Mr C. F. Bell, to superintend the hanging and the cataloguing of the collection. These catalogues, apart from the complete catalogue in the case of each University, which it is hoped may still see the light, are sufficient to indicate their value to students of art and history of the historical documents, which such portraits represent, and to class such portraits, as Confucius did, among the stimulating products of art to be set before the minds of a rising generation.

Lionel Cust.

A PARADOX ON BEAUTY

Ninety years have passed since the genius of Keats enriched the world with an axiom which has been universally accepted, and now threatens to become a common-place. But when he wrote "Beauty is Truth, Truth Beauty," Keats did not perceive, and perhaps no one since his time has happened to notice, that he was merely borrowing a motto from "the poor, decrepid standard" of his aesthetic arch-enemy. Nevertheless Boileau had said, in his vivid Ninth Satire :

> "Rien n'est beau que le vrai, le vrai seul est aimable,"

and a closer translation of this than Keats produced could hardly be desired. In the following century, Dr Johnson had commended the wise criticism of the Père Bouhours, "who shows all beauty to depend upon truth." Finally, to prove that on this point, at least, the Tories and the Whigs of taste are unanimous, we have Matthew Arnold summing up sententiously :

> "'Beauty is truth, truth beauty—that is all
> Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know.'

No, it is not all ; but it is true, deeply true, and we have deep need to know it."

In the face of so many witnesses, men who have loved the principle of beauty classically as well as romantically, who have pursued "the mighty abstract idea of beauty in all things," it is perhaps an act of unpardonable temerity to suggest that the famous formula is not merely not "all we need to know," but is positively erroneous and baseless. What chastisement would be severe enough for the jester who should hideously parody the antithesis by saying

"Rien n'est beau que le faux, rien n'est vrai que le laid"?

Without affronting tradition by any such violence as this, I would however propound the question whether the phrase Beauty is Truth may not, on close examination, be found to present the precise opposite of the fact. Is not un-truth, the condition of enslavement to the sorcery of illusion, the only state in which beauty can exist, that is to say make itself felt? Are not truth and beauty,—so far from being, as the poets conspire to teach us, identical,—diametrically and essentially opposed to one another?

If beauty were truth, it would surely be a matter upon which scientific accuracy could with care and study be secured. A landscape, a statue, a poem, a face could be demonstrated as being beautiful, according to exact rules of taste, within the limits of which a very small divergency, an oscillation of personal impression, would alone be permitted. If a careful consideration of the principles of beauty has informed us of the comeliness of a certain thing, and if that comeliness is another name for truth,

then the permanence of its character should be beyond all further discussion. Beautiful to-day, it must, if it survives unchanged, be beautiful to-morrow, and beautiful a hundred years hence. But the shifting standards of taste are present to warn us that there is no stability in this regard, and that what is now beautiful in the eyes of the most cultivated men may in another generation seem to their direct descendants insipid and debased.

Shaftesbury, a philosopher of great aesthetic ingenuity, who still awaits his revival, is conscious that something is wrong in the formula, and he endeavours to explain it. At one moment, he seems to see the difficulty in its full light, and he exclaims "So that there is no Principle of Beauty in Body, none at all!" Yet he cannot grapple with so subversive a supposition, and he proceeds to account for the impressions which we receive by attributing them to Mind, "whence the Dead Form receives its Lustre and Force of Beauty." Nevertheless, Shaftesbury seems to reject any doubt that mind is not competent to form an authoritative and constant impression, but accounts for vicissitudes of taste by the supposition that mind is exercised now more and now less strenuously on the object of criticism. That is to say, that if our minds were in absolutely admirable order, there would no longer be any hesitation in asserting, now and for all future time, that such and such scenes, verses, pictures or sculpture are beautiful in a positive sense, and are dowered with a perdurable force and lustre.

Our art-criticism, our descriptions of landscape, our whole working hypothesis of plastic aesthetics,

rest upon the supposition that it can be laid down, once for all, that a certain object or scene is beautiful and that another is not. In all critical judgments, it is tacitly taken as an axiom that beauty exists in itself. Does such and such a work "possess" beauty in a high degree, in a low degree, not at all? That is invariably treated as a subject upon which a definite opinion can be passed. The extreme of modesty to which an art-critic can be induced to proceed is an admission,—generous or grudging according to his temperament,—that the last word of the law which regulates beauty may not be revealed to himself. But that such a law does not exist, or that a positive application or judgment to beauty is impossible, is what he would think it impious to admit.

Yet an examination of the changes of taste within so very brief a period as one hundred years might well make us hesitate to be confident that beauty is truth. The connoisseurs of the end of the eighteenth century were learned, active and sincere. Their eyes, we must suppose, were of a structure identical with that of ours; they examined the same pictures and statues which we examine now. If beauty was truth as late as 1818, what has happened to the pictures by Guido, in which no less sensitive a personage than Shelley discovered a loveliness "almost insupportable from its intensity"? Fifty years earlier, Guercino, who was already in 1818 without charm for Shelley and his contemporaries, had been held to reach the *ne plus ultra* of solid and complicated beauty. Fifty years later, when Guido and Guercino were alike discarded, everyone's

eyes began to be opened to the extreme loveliness of the pictures of Botticelli, from which no human being had received aesthetic pleasure for nearly four hundred years. What effect, must we suppose, was produced, about the year 1630, by the San Gallo Holy Family, upon the nerves of the people in Rome who were being thrilled by the seraphic sweetness of Sassoferrato? These alterations of effect are not explained away by reference to fashion, as though they were the results of affectation. It is not the fact that careful observers a hundred years ago admired the works of Botticelli in secret, but were obliged hypocritically to pretend that they preferred those of Guido. They all did earnestly admire Guido, and on the absurd principle of Kant by which everything should be excluded from beauty which does not universally please, the early Tuscans, which in old days universally displeased, ought to remain for ever outside the canon of aesthetic value.

We have, therefore, only to reflect upon the history of a hundred years to see that the application of judgment to beauty is not uniform. As a matter of fact it alters violently from year to year. Those of us who are advancing in life have to admit, if we are candid, that much that was beautiful in 1869 is very far indeed from being beautiful, even to ourselves, in 1909. In all departments of fine art this change proceeds; and if it is felt in forty years, what will be the action of it in four centuries? What then becomes of "the permanent objectivity" of beauty when such discord reigns among those who feel and see with

the most pronounced sensibility? What becomes of the right and wrong of taste? Where is the fixed entity which is truth from one point of view and beauty from another?

It is difficult to approach this subject without some bias from the critical tradition, which, as Mr Arthur Balfour very acutely pointed out, " unduly conceals the vast and arbitrary changes by which the taste of one generation is divided from that of another." And, in this connection, the philosophers seem to have begged the question in their decision to distinguish rigidly between beauty of art and beauty of nature. So far as I comprehend the teaching of Hegel upon this point, brilliantly set forth as it is by the skill of Mr Bosanquet, the only reason why this strict distinction is to be made is because the beauty of nature is open to vagueness and destitute of a criterion. We must suppose, then, that beauty of art is as precise as a mathematical deduction, and ruled by a standard which is universally valid. But we have seen that the beauty of art is just as open to vagueness and just as destitute of a criterion as the beauty of nature. The Hegelian restriction of aesthetics to fine art seems, therefore, to be erroneous, and to have been introduced to get rid of a practical difficulty, which survives its introduction, undisturbed.

To illustrate my contention that beauty is so far from being rigid truth that it is an absolutely deceptive semblance, and no more, I venture to relate an experience in which the provinces of art and nature ran so deeply into each other that their frontiers could scarcely be distinguished. Several

years ago, I happened to stroll into a church in the south of France early in an autumn morning. I entered a chapel, where, out of the enclosure of a semi-circular grille of hammered iron, the reredos rose,—over two sculptured marble saints, bowing their flashing golden nimbi in adoration,—to a miraculous black Madonna, who held in her arms a black Christ. There fell from and about her a cascade of voluminous blueish draperies. A surface of pearl-coloured low reliefs, partially gilded, spread behind and above the Madonna. A Mass was being celebrated; and light blazed in the heart of the dim blueness of the figures. Dark were the vestments of the officiating priest, and he and the acolyte gave an intensity of life to the scene by moving in front of what was else all decoration and vision. The light which illuminated everything was a mixture of twinkling candle-light, and of the sun rapidly going in under flying cloud, and as rapidly coming out again. All those lights, clinging to and dropping from the edges of the whole design, filled the scene with faint and tender kaleidoscopic effects of white, pink, grey, slate-blue, gold and black. There was nothing else in the church to disturb the eye. The extraordinary impression of the whole effect is one which remains among the most vivid to which I have ever been subjected.

Here, then, if I might trust to the evidence of every fibre of my being, was a most exquisite experience of architectural and composed beauty. But was that beauty truth ? By no means. The elements of my emotion had no real aesthetic value ; all was illusion, a figment of the nerves. The

church was Nôtre-Dame-la-Daurade, an inanimate eighteenth-century building close to the Pont Neuf at Toulouse ; a lump, without structural merit of any species. The black Virgin is one which it would take the ingenuity of a Huysmans to distinguish. The decorations which moved me so much in that illusive light are garish, inelegant and tame. I observed that my sole companion, who is closely in sympathy with me, and who has a plastic sense more organically disciplined than mine, was not greatly moved by this scene. Doubtless a learned art-critic would have been moved even less than she was. But, while, to her or to him, I could at least have described and made plausible my curious rapture, to a common observer it would have appeared madness or perversity. Here was no beauty which could be submitted to Hegel's criterion, or shown to be a part of that universal delight or necessary pleasure without which Kant denies the existence of beauty. "Rien n'est beau que le vrai, le vrai seul est aimable," says Boileau. Very well, but here was something which was nothing less than "vrai," yet so excruciatingly "aimable" (to myself alone) that I thrill with the memory of it after the lapse of years.

Why I recall this experience is precisely because of its ineffectuality. Plato says that what gives value to our ephemeral existence is the spectacle of the eternal beauty. But why has a gloss of later positivism insisted that the essential attribute of this principle should be truth ? Truth must be a matter exactly to be weighed, to be measured, to be depended upon and taken into account at all

times and upon all occasions. Yet the essence of beauty is fleeting and even chimerical. It exists for one person, and not for another ; and for that person then, yet not now. It takes its character from physical accidents, such as light and atmospheric colour ; and from moral accidents, such as cheerfulness and alertness of mind ; and from bodily health. There seems to be no doubt that beauty exists, as in the trivial case which I have ventured to describe, where no beauty can be defined as existing. It is equally certain that it does not exist, in the sense that it is not perceived, in many instances where its formal existence can be proved beyond the shadow of a doubt. A party of Cook's tourists gazing at the Temple of Philae or a group of savages passing a fire-opal from hand to hand, are very dimly conscious that either object has any but a purely commercial value. I shall be told that, whether these spectators are aware of it or not, the truth of the beauty is immutable. I reply that I can no longer conceive of beauty as something existing of itself, and that if it is not true to the tripper or the savage, it is not, in their cases, true at all.

The more we reflect upon this subject, the further the phantom of exactitude seems to withdraw into the background. It is natural that those who form strong impressions of beauty, natural or plastic, should endeavour to make that a rule to others which is an agreeable paroxysm to themselves. But the very vehemence with which they lay down the law should warn us against the permanent value of the regulation. Within a single century Ruskin

and Rousseau pronounced their final judgment regarding the aesthetic value of Gothic architecture. Nothing could be more convenient than to have teaching so positive and clear. The only misfortune is that if we find truth in Rousseau we must find absolute falsehood in Ruskin. That which was authoritatively hideous to the one was entirely lovely to the other. Who knows how soon a priest may arise who will persuade the people that classic and romantic are alike devoid of merit? Beauty is not truth; it is illusion, it is an individual impression; and it is an application of judgment to sensuous objects which alters not merely from year to year, but from hour to hour and from man to man.

The result of such considerations seems to be that, contrary to the accepted laws of philosophy, the sense of beauty is a blind instinct implanted by nature, in different degrees, in the consciousness of a certain limited number of human beings. This individual instinct is capable of development, but also of deterioration, in the hands of teachers. The habit of subjecting criticism to traditional laws strengthens convictions of beauty, but also removes them from that order of nature in which the emotion of beauty acts with genuine vehemence on the nerves. That is to say, a human being may be naturally addicted to seeing beauty in a marsh, rather than in a mountain; in a tidal river rather than in a cascade. But authority, and the rapture of the poets, and the example of others around him, may warp his judgment until he believes that the highest charm of landscape must reside in snow-

peaks and waterfalls. Yet the emotion which he forces himself to receive from the latter will never be perfectly instinctive; his apprehension will be intellectual and not sensuous; and the beauty he cultivates will not be true or in relation to truth, but a falsehood elaborately rehearsed.

It is, no doubt, unnecessary to remark that in treating aesthetic from this point of view, my ideas are centred on the phenomena of taste. My purpose is to combat the theory that in connoisseurship, whether of poetry or of fine art, or even of the visual aspect of objects, there can be absolute or even relative finality of judgment. The aim of every critic is to persuade the world that his momentary conception of a particular article of beauty is final. He uses the verbiage of positive approval or disapproval. He claims for his statement unchallenged and universal validity. The critic says that a certain poet is admirable, although he is aware that a hundred years ago that poet was treated with contempt; but he claims the possession of fresh light on the subject, and decides that, for the rest of time, these particular poems shall be held by all good judges to be beautiful. So with pictures, so with statues, so even with lakes and hills. The critics are confirmed in their "cocksureness" by the universally-accepted formula "Beauty is Truth, Truth Beauty," and they give no thought to any possible reversal of taste. They look on a person who ventures to say that, though a nocturne of Whistler is lovely to-day, it may be a very poor affair in 2009, as though he had committed an impiety. Yet what of the enthusiasm with which

"the godlike continuity of sweetness" in Canova was accepted about 1809? Surely all such positive judgments are illusion, all are founded on the very reverse of truth.

Unquestionably, for those who can wing their way into the altitudes of pure thought, there exists a philosophical conception of the beautiful, or a defined Idea of Beauty, which is consonant with truth, and may, in a rhetorical sense, even be regarded as truth itself. This is "le beau qui parle au coeur," of which Voltaire speaks in his Life of Molière. Into the analysis of such hypotheses I do not venture to intrude. But as regards the Beauty which affects our senses and our imagination, which makes its incessant appeal to our shifting judgment, which forms for us the ecstasy of our mental picture of the world, I can find no falser formula than Keats' famous and dogmatic couplet.

Edmund Gosse.

THE MUSEUM OF ZOOLOGY

Mr J. W. Clark's range of interests has been so wide that it might be difficult to blend the impressions formed of him by a selection of his acquaintances into a single picture. To some he has been the Registrary, a man who keeps records of the business transacted by the University, who has various functions to perform in connexion with Matriculation, Congregations and Examination-lists, and who delights in bringing out new editions of the *Ordinances*. To others he has been the historian of Cambridge buildings, with regard to which he has been the unfailing source of information. To others again his love for the drama may have appeared his principal interest in life, usually finding its expression at the 'A.D.C.' or the Theatre, but at triennial intervals assuming the form of devotion to a Greek Play. But, amid all the versatility of our friend's pursuits, the Museum of Zoology was for many of his best years the central point round which, we may believe, his thoughts revolved. It is difficult for anyone who has known him in the Museum, surrounded by the specimens which he cared for so zealously, to think of him in other

terms than primarily as the Superintendent of the Museum of Zoology. But even here his activity was by no means restricted to the Museum itself, since concurrently with discharging the duties of that arduous position he found time to direct the general concerns of all the Departments on the old Botanic Garden site, by acting as Secretary to the Museums and Lecture Rooms Syndicate.

Mr Clark entered on his work in this double capacity in 1866 ; and the years that followed, up to 1891, the date of his resignation, were marked by extraordinary activity in the growth of the scientific departments. This growth consisted not merely in the increase of the importance of science as a branch of Academic study, but also in the more material development of the actual accommodation for the new studies. In all matters connected with bricks and mortar he was in his element, and there were few things which gave him more pleasure than to construct plans for new buildings or for a rearrangement of existing rooms. He was always ready to enter with enthusiasm into the details of schemes of this nature, and the uninterrupted progress of the studies represented in the Natural Sciences Tripos was facilitated to an extent that it would be difficult to overestimate by his capable management of the affairs of the Syndicate.

In the Museum itself, of which he was the first Superintendent, his influence was no less marked. The present building which, though now overcrowded and insufficient to contain the specimens, was for many years adequate for its purpose, owes its construction to him. The general plan of arrange-

ment of the specimens inaugurated by him has not been departed from, and the Museum is still in its essential features as he left it. In his efforts for the improvement of the Museum the Superintendent had the great advantage of collaboration with the late Professor Newton, himself an ardent worker in the same field. The combination was a very fortunate one, resulting as it has done in raising the Museum to one of the most efficient organisations in existence for the illustration of the teaching of Zoology.

In the year after Mr Clark's appointment the Museums and Lecture Rooms Syndicate issued the first of their Annual Reports. In this Report, dated April 1, 1867, the present Museum is spoken of as a new building which is very deficient in wall-cases and cabinets. The extent of the collections as they then existed is indicated, and the weak points are explained in order to stimulate members of the University to action by shewing them exactly where help is most wanted. It is perhaps prophetic of the Superintendent's later activity that we find him in this first report directing attention to the recent acquisition of the skeleton of the so-called Pevensey Whale, which was bought for the University in May 1866, and is at the present time the most conspicuous specimen in the Museum.

The collection of Cetacea (Whales, Dolphins, etc.) was ever a special favourite, although he admitted to an equally honourable place in his affections the other marine Mammals, namely the Seals, Sea-Lions, and Walruses, and the Manatees and Dugongs. No effort was spared to increase the collection of

these animals, which became in consequence one of the best in existence. It would not always be apparent to anyone reading the Annual Reports how far the University has been indebted to Mr Clark for the development of this and of other parts of the collection. In many cases the acquisition of the specimens was rendered possible only by his own generosity; while the formation of the valuable collection of books and papers on marine Mammals, presented by him to the Museum after his retirement from office, was entirely due to his personal efforts.

One of the last pieces of Zoological work done by Mr Clark, before the time when he transferred his energies to the Registry, was connected with the acquirement by the Museum of the skeleton of the extinct 'Northern Manatee' (*Rhytina gigas*), known also as 'Steller's Sea-Cow.' The interesting and tragic story of the extermination of this enormous animal is recorded by Mr Clark in his Annual Report for 1888, and in more detail in a paper communicated to the Cambridge Philosophical Society. Steller, who accompanied Bering on his last voyage, was wrecked, in 1741, on the Island now known by the latter's name, off the coast of Kamschatka; and he was thus enabled to make known the Northern Manatee, then living in abundance round Bering's Island, to the Zoological world. By 1768, or thereabouts, the animal had become extinct owing to the persecution it had experienced as a result of this mistaken attention. Its very existence was doubted at a later period, since Steller had not been able to bring home any specimens. To resolve these doubts the Smithsonian Institution at

Washington explored Bering's Island, and obtained large numbers of bones, which established the substantial accuracy of Steller's original account. The fine skeleton now in the Museum, partly composed of actual bones, and partly a restoration, is one of the results of the American exploration.

This is but a single instance of the nature of the work in which the Superintendent was constantly engaged, and which he took up with an enthusiasm that can easily be realized by all who know him. The Annual Reports are full of interesting information with regard to the most important events of the years they respectively chronicle. In the first few Reports we are given some of the early history of the Museum. We can picture to ourselves the difficulties of arranging a collection recently transferred to a building insufficiently provided with cases for their reception, and we can follow some of the efforts by which the necessary cases were provided. We can trace the gradual growth of the collection, which had been aided by explicit hints as to *desiderata* given from time to time in the Reports. We can imagine the various arrangements and rearrangements of the specimens, and the gradual transformation of what was at first known as the 'Museum of Zoology' into the Bird Room, and of the 'Museum of Comparative Anatomy' into the home of the remainder of the collection. We find throughout the desire to make the collection not only one of scientific importance, but to adapt it specially to the illustration of the Academic teaching of Zoology. In this Mr Clark was eminently successful. Long before I realized how much of the

excellence of the Museum, from this point of view, was due to his work, I had come to regard the building as a place which I could visit with the expectation of finding in it the answers to questions that were perplexing me. And in later years, as a teacher of Zoology, I was accustomed to place the same reliance on the Museum as the source from which I could illustrate a large proportion of the facts to which it was necessary to allude.

It is difficult at the present day to imagine the possibility of teaching Zoology without the aid of practical work, so designed as to impress on the student's mind what he can hardly be expected to remember, or even to understand, without the aid of contact with the actual facts. But that this was not the state of affairs when Mr Clark first took office in the Museum is sufficiently indicated by his Report for 1871, where we find him emphasizing the statement that it is impossible to teach Comparative Anatomy efficiently without practical work, consisting of the dissection of Vertebrates and Invertebrates performed by the students under proper supervision. He goes on to explain that during the preceding term (the Michaelmas Term, 1871) he had commenced a class for practical work presided over by himself and Mr T. W. Bridge (now Professor in the University of Birmingham). The influence of this new departure on the study of Zoology in Cambridge has been very marked, and Mr Clark is surely entitled to our gratitude for the way in which he associated himself with this as with other new developments necessitated by changing conditions.

In writing, in May 1891, to announce his resignation of his office, Mr Clark says, "It would, I think, be difficult, if not impossible, to find any Museum out of London so rich in specimens necessary for educational purposes." I believe that claim to have been fully justified; and although it would not be right to ignore or to forget the great influence exerted by the late Professor Newton towards this end, the practical management of the Museum was entirely in the hands of Mr Clark, to whom the University owes a great debt of gratitude for his zeal, ability and foresight, whereby the Institution that had been committed to his care rose during his tenure of office from comparatively unimportant beginnings to the condition of being one of the great Zoological collections in the country.

SIDNEY F. HARMER.

RAY'S TABLES OF PLANTS

I HAVE recently had occasion to go rather fully into the matter of the relations between John Ray and Robert Morison, the first Professor of Botany in the University of Oxford (1669—1683), relations that were unfortunately not of a friendly character. In pursuing the subject I came across a work of Ray's that I had not seen before, the fifty pages of Tables of Plants contributed by him to Dr Wilkins' (Bishop of Chester) remarkable book 'An Essay towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language' published by the Royal Society in 1668, which is a tabular summary of the Philosophy, Grammar, and 'Natural Knowledge' of the time. I found this little-known treatise, containing Ray's first attempt at a general classification as well as about six hundred English names of plants both British and exotic, to be of such interest that I thought some account of it would be a not inappropriate contribution to a volume dedicated to the senior member of the Ray Club, whose skill as a gardener is well known. I offer it in recognition of the debt of gratitude owing to him by every one concerned in the progress of the science, and by me most of all, for his sympathetic and efficient help in the repeated efforts to secure accommodation for the teaching of the 'New Botany' in the University of Cambridge,

from the humble beginnings of thirty years ago to the stately Botany School of to-day.

It was the publication of these Tables that brought Ray into relation, I might say into collision, with Morison. Morison was just publishing his ideas on classification in his *Praeludia Botanica*, which is dated 1669, a work that consists of three parts : the *Hortus Blesensis auctus* ; the *Hallucinationes Caspari Bauhini in Pinace*, *item Animadversiones in tres Tomos Universalis Historiae Plantarum Johannis Bauhini* ; and the *Dialogus inter Socium Collegii Regii Londinensis Gresham dicti*, *et Botanographum Regium.* In the *Dialogus*, which is a conversation between himself, as Botanist to King Charles II (he had not yet come to Oxford), and a Fellow of the Royal Society, *Botanographus* makes the following remark which can only be an allusion to Ray's work : *Et ego hoc observavi in multis Authoribus scribentibus aliquot abhinc annis*, *imo non ita pridem*, *in Libro quodam ab Authore*, *vestri Collegii Socio edito*, *in quo exhibetur methodus*, *per Tabulas*, *disponentes classes plantarum*, *a similitudine foliorum*, *sumptarum. Ego tantum confusum Chaos : illic*, *de plantis legi*, *nec quicquam didici*, *ut monstrabo tibi & lapsus & confusionem*, *aliàs.* This severe criticism was unwarranted, for, as will be seen in the brief account to be given of Ray's classification, the form of the leaf is not adopted as a general basis, but is applied only in certain cases.

This is the only reference to Ray that I can find in Morison's writings : but there is evidence that he gave strong expression to his opinions in correspondence and in conversation. The whole

matter is discussed, very much in favour of Morison, by Blair in his *Botanick Essays* (1720), where it is stated that Dr Morison often said that 'Mr Ray studied Plants more in his Closet than in Gardens and Fields.' Blair continues: 'this was the Ground of Contention betwixt them......And it was the Tartness of this severe though true Reflection which created such a resentment in Mr Ray against Dr Morison.' He goes on to justify Morison's treatment of Ray: 'Mr Ray, on the other hand, had by this time acquired a moderate skill in Botany, and had he applied himself to and kept up a Correspondence with Dr Morison, who was in such a Station as it was no disparagement for him to do so, then they might have compared their Thoughts, and communicated to each other what they found convenient for the Advancement of that Science, by one and the same Method, without endeavouring to multiply Methods, so as to confound the Learners: but when instead of that Mr Ray would needs set up a Method of his own, in Opposition to the other, Dr Morison, or any other in his Station, had reason enough to be angry with him for it......So that as Dr Morison had reason to be angry with Mr Ray, it was a great Failing in Mr Ray to have such a Resentment against Dr Morison's Memory, since 'twas Mr Ray who first gave the ground of Offence.'

It is difficult to understand why Blair should describe Ray's method as set up in opposition to that of Morison, or why the publication of it should have been regarded as a 'ground of offence,' seeing that Morison's method only appeared in 1682 in the *Historia Universalis*; whereas Ray's Tables of

Plants were published in 1668, and his *Methodus Plantarum Nova* in 1682. There is more reason for attributing to Ray some resentment against Morison; such a sentiment would not be unnatural in the circumstances. Ray retorts upon Morison twice in his writings: first, in the *Recensio Operum* prefixed to the first volume of his *Historia* (1686); and secondly in the preface to his *Methodus Plantarum emendata et aucta* (1703). The former passage runs as follows: '*Hic quandiu intra suos limites se continuit, & Catalogis Hortorum componendis, notis generum characteristicis indagandis, Botanicorum in Dispositione specierum erroribus aut, ut loqui amat, hallucinationibus detegendis corrigendisque operam dedit, laudem sane meruit. Verùm cum sibi nimis placeret suique plenus alios etiam se doctiores contemneret, majora viribus aggredi, & Plantarum Historiam Universalem conscribere ausus, nec famae suae consuluit, nec multorum expectationi satisfecit.*' The second passage is in much the same strain. Referring to Morison's criticism of his Tables of Plants, Ray says: '*Hac re graviter offensus D. Robertus Morisonus Aberdonensis Scotus* M.D. *veritus fortasse ne quid inde famae suae & auctoritati, quam non mediocrem inter Botanicos, nec immerito, sibi comparaverat, editis speciminibus Methodi illius, quam se non e libris hausisse, sed a natura ipsa edoctum fuisse gloriabatur, decederet; meque in messem suam falcem immitere ausum aegre ferens, Tabulas illas, tacito Autoris nomine, indignis modis laceravit. Ego quamvis Methodum illam reprehensioni obnoxiam, nec tantum imperfectam, sed in multis erroneam & vitiosam fuisse agnoscerem; cùm tamen viderem me ab homine αὐθάδει suique pleno, ne quid durius dicam, aut manes ejus in-*

quietem, contemptum & ludibrio plane habitum, ut existimationi meae aliquatenus consulerem, tentare statui quid liber & naturae ductum sequens, in Plantis digerendis & Methodo instituenda possem.'

This is rather strong language, no doubt: as an estimate of Morison's ability and achievements it is unfair. But it does not justify Blair's vehement accusation that Ray 'continued to rake into his (Morison's) Ashes, and to commemorate his Imperfections (which in a Christian way ought to have been buried in oblivion) after a most barbarous, undecent and inhumane Manner......and all this because *Caesarve priorem Pompeiusve parem.*' The truth seems to be that Morison first gave offence, and that Ray neither forgave nor forgot.

Although I have said that the Tables of Plants contain Ray's first attempt at a general system of classification, yet they do not perhaps accurately express his views. For he explains, in the preface to his *Methodus emendata et aucta* (1703), that, in drawing up the Tables, he was not free to follow the order of Nature: but was compelled, by the plan of Dr Wilkins' work, to divide each genus into three subordinate genera, neither more nor less. I must confess, however, that I fail to trace this limitation in the system that he set forth. All the explanation of his procedure that he gives in the brief introduction to the Tables is contained in the following paragraph: 'I design in these following tables to take notice only of the *chief families* of Plants, to which the others are to be reduced. In the descriptions of which there will be no small difficulty, by reason of their great

number, and the want of proper words to express the more minute differences betwixt them, in respect of shape, colour, tast, smell, &c. to which instituted languages have not assigned particular names. I mention this by way of Apology for the several defects, which I am sensible of in the following Tables.'

Very briefly, Ray's classification is as follows. He begins by distinguishing Herbs, Shrubs, and Trees. Proceeding to the detailed classification of Herbs, he divides them into *Imperfect* 'which either do want or seem to want some of the more essential parts of Plants, viz. either Root, Stalk, or Seed,' the Cryptogamia of Linnaeus ; and *Perfect* 'having all the essential parts belonging to a Plant.' The Perfect Herbs are arranged in three main groups according to (1) their leaves, (2) their flowers, (3) their seed-vessel, each group being sub-divided in various ways.

HERBS CONSIDERED ACCORDING TO THEIR LEAVES :

With long Leaves: Frumentaceous, 'such whose seed is used by men for food, either Bread, Pudding, Broth, or Drink' (Cereals): or Non-Frumentaceous (other Grasses, Sedges, Reeds).

Gramineous Herbs of Bulbous Roots (Bulbous Monocotyledons).

Herbs of Affinity to Bulbous Roots (other Monocotyledons).

Herbs of Round Leaves (*e.g. Petasites*, *Viola*, *Pinguicula*, *Drosera*).

Herbs of Nervous Leaves (*e.g. Veratrum*, *Plantago*, *Gentiana*, *Polygonum*).

Succulent Herbs (*Sedum*, *Saxifraga*).

'Herbs considered according to the Superficies of their Leaves, or their Manner of Growing':

more rough (*e.g. Borago*, *Anchusa*, *Echium*):

less rough (*e.g. Pulmonaria*, *Symphytum*, *Heliotropium*):

stellate leaves (*e.g. Asparagus*, *Galium*).

Herbs considered according to their Flowers: 'having no seed-vessel besides the Cup which covers the flower':

Herbs of Stamineous Flowers, 'whose flower doth consist of threddy Filaments or Stamina, having no leaves besides the *Perianthium*: or those herbaceous leaves encompassing these stamina, which do not wither or fall away before the seed is ripe'; and not of grassy leaves, may be distributed into such whose seeds are

Triangular (Polygonaceae);

Round: 'distinguishable by sex, of male and female; because from the same seed some plants are produced which bear flowers and no seeds, and others which bear seeds and no flowers' (*e.g. Cannabis*, *Humulus*, *Mercurialis*): not distinguishable by sex (*e.g.* Chenopodiaceae, Urticaceæ, Resedaceae).

Herbs having a Compound Flower not Pappous }
Pappous Herbs } (Compositae).

Umbelliferous Herbs (Umbelliferae, with *Valeriana*).

Verticillate Fruticose Herbs }
Verticillate Not Fruticose Herbs } (Labiatae).

Spicate Herbs (a curious medley, including *Dipsacus*, *Eryngium*, *Echinops*, *Agrimonia*, *Circaea*, *Poterium Sanguisorba*, *Polygonum Persicaria*, *Trifolium stellatum*, *T. arvense*, and *Potamogeton angustifolium*).

Herbs bearing Many Seeds together in a Cluster or Button (*e.g. Geum*, *Potentilla*, *Anemone*, *Ranunculus*, *Adonis*, *Malva*).

Herbs considered according to their Seed-vessel:

Of a divided Seed-vessel, which may be called *Corniculate* (*Paeonia*, *Dictamnus*, *Delphinium*, *Aquilegia*, *Aconitum*, *Geranium*, *Scandix*).

Of an entire Seed-vessel:

Siliquous: Papilionaceous Climbing Herbs }
Papilionaceous Herbs not Climbing } (Papilionaceae).
Not papilionaceous (mostly Cruciferae).

Capsulate: bearing Flowers of Five Leaves (Caryophyllaceae, Hypericaceae, *Euphorbia*, *Linum*, *Lysimachia*, *Ruta*, *Nigella*).
whose flowers consist of three or four Leaves (some Cruciferae, *Epimedium*, *Papaver*, *Verbena*, *Statice*, *Veronica*).

Capsulate (*continued*):

Campanulate Herbs:

climbing (most Cucurbitaceae and Convolvulaceae):

erect (Campanulaceae, some Solanaceae, *Digitalis*).

Not campanulate: Primulaceae, Scrophulariaceae, Acanthaceae, *Aristolochia*, *Vinca*).

Bacciferous herbs: may be distinguished according to their Qualities:

Esculent fruit: more pleasant (Strawberry), less pleasant (Tomato).

Esculent root (Potato):

Malignant: of simple leaves (Nightshade, Mandrake),

of compound leaves (Herb Christopher, *Paris*).

Or Manner of Growth:

being climbers (*Bryonia*, *Tamus*, *Smilax*):

not climbers (*Physalis Alkekengi*, *Cucubalus*, *Sambucus Ebulus*).

Of Shrubs.

I. Bacciferous Spinous Shrubs of Deciduous Leaves (the genera *Rubus* and *Rosa*, Gooseberry, Sloe, Barberry, *Rhamnus*, *Lycium*).

II. Bacciferous Shrubs of Deciduous Leaves, not Spinous (Vine, Currant, Bilberry, *Viburnum*, White Beam, *Cornus*, *Prunus Padus*, *P. Mahaleb*, *Diospyros*, Honeysuckle, Pepper, *Daphne*, *Euonymus*, Privet, *Salicornia*).

III. Bacciferous Sempervirent Shrubs (*Rhamnus Alaternus*, *Phillyraea*, *Arbutus*, *Daphne Laureola*, *Ruscus*, *Chamaerops humilis*, Laurustinus, Juniper, Myrtle, Ivy, Mistletoe).

IV. Siliquous Shrubs (Lilac, *Cytisus*, *Colutea*, *Ulex*, *Genista*, *Mimosa*).

V. Graniferous Deciduous Shrubs (*Vitex*, *Spiraea*, *Tamarix*, *Jasminum*, *Althaea*, *Elaeagnus*, *Clematis*, *Ampelopsis*).

VI. Graniferous Evergreen Shrubs (*Cistus*, Oleander, Rosemary, *Phlomis fruticosa*, *Erica*, &c.).

Of Trees.

- I. Pomiferous Trees (Apple, Pear, &c., *Sorbus*, Fig, Pomegranate, Orange, Lemon, Banana).
- II. Pruniferous Trees (Peach, Plum, Cherry, &c., Olive, Date, Jujube).
- III. Bacciferous Trees (Mulberry, Elder, Sumach, *Celtis*, Bay, Yew, Holly, Box, &c.).
- IV. Nuciferous Trees (Walnut, Almond, Hazel, *Castanea*, Beech, Coco-Palm, Coffee, Cocoa, Cotton).
- V. Glandiferous and Coniferous Trees (Oak, Alder, Larch, Cedar, Pine, Spruce, Cypress).
- VI. Trees bearing their Seeds in Single Teguments or Coverings (Carob, Tamarind, Elm, Hornbeam, Maple, Poplar, Willow, Lime, Plane).
- VII. Trees considered according to their Woods or Barks (Lignum Vitae, Snakewood, Sandal-wood, Log-wood, Cinnamon, Cinchona, &c.).
- VIII. Trees considered according to their Gumms or Rosins (Myrrh, Gum Arabic, Copal, Benzoin, *Liquidambar*, Camphor).

Ray's *Methodus Plantarum Nova*, published in 1682, follows essentially the same principles of classification, with the exception, however, that the leaf is no longer taken as giving the character of one of the main groups; a change due, no doubt, to Morison's criticism. The arrangement of the Trees and Shrubs is hardly altered: but there is a certain amount of re-arrangement among the Herbs, and it is interesting to find some of the groups called by names, such as Umbelliferae, Stellatae, Asperifoliae, Verticillatae, Siliquosae, Papilionaceae, most of which persist to this day. The fact that the *Methodus* was written in Latin probably explains why it was that these names were used here and were not used in the Tables which are in English. It is worthy of mention that, in the preface to the

Methodus, Ray acknowledges his indebtedness to Morison. '*Sed nec reticere debeo*' he says '*me e D. Roberti Morison Med. & Botanices Professoris Oxoniensis Praeludiis Botan. & Historia Plantarum Universali mutuatum esse quae ad rem nostram facere videbantur, ne quemquam debita sua laude fraudare, meque alienis pennis venditare arguar.*'

The interest of the *Methodus Nova* lies in its being the intermediate stage between the Tables and the *Methodus Emendata et aucta*, which were separated by an interval of thirty-five years. As the Tables was the first, so the *Methodus Emendata* was literally Ray's last word on classification : he was ailing when he wrote it, and died within two years of its publication. In the form here given to it, more especially in the subdivision of the *Plantae Floriferae* into *Dicotyledones* and *Monocotyledones*, a principle of classification that holds good to the present day, Ray's system was far in advance of all others of his time, the time that Linnaeus called the 'Golden Age of Botany.' It is the foundation upon which was based the Natural System of classification, first promulgated by A. L. de Jussieu in 1789.

But the Tables of Plants are of interest not only because they contain the germ of a famous system of classification : but also because they contain a great number of the current English names of plants. Many names are given in the *Methodus* and in the *Historia* : but all of them, excepting a few in the *Historia*, are included in the Tables with a number of others. Most of them, especially those of plants native of or cultivated in Britain, are dealt with in such works as Prior's 'Popular Names of

British Plants' (3rd Edn. 1879), Britten and Holland's 'Dictionary of English Plant-Names' (1886), and Miller's 'Dictionary of English Names of Plants' (1884) which is more comprehensive than either of the others though its usefulness is impaired by the absence of references and authorities. I have not thought it necessary to repeat the information given by these authors: consequently the appended list consists only of those names that I have not found in their works, and of those that seemed to require further elucidation. At the end of the list of names from the Tables, I have added a few from the *Historia*.

List of English Plant-Names from Ray's Tables of Plants.

In the first line are the English and the Latin names given by Ray: then the Linnean Latin name, followed, when necessary, by the more modern name that has superseded that of Linnaeus, as given in the *Index Kewensis*. The Natural Order follows, and the geographical distribution of the plant when not British. Occasional reference is made to the *Pinax* (1671) of Caspar Bauhin (C. B. Pin.) and to Miller's Dictionary mentioned above.

All-Heal. Panax Asclepium.

This name has been given to various plants, such as *Prunella vulgaris* and *Valeriana officinalis*: but this plant is *Thapsia Asclepium* L., *Elaeoselinum Asclepium* Bertol. Umbelliferae. S. Europe.

Aloe Tree. Lignum Aloes (Lignaloes).

This is the *Agallochum officinarum* of C. B. Pin.; *Aloexylum Agallochum* Lour., *Aquilaria Agallocha* Roxb. Thymelaeaceae. East Indies.

Assyrian Balm. Molucca.
Moluccella laevis L. Labiatae. W. Asia.

Austrian Sneezewort. Ptarmica austriaca.
Xeranthemum annuum L. Compositae. S. Europe.

Base Horehound. Stachis.
Stachys germanica L. Labiatae.

Bean of the Antients. Faba veterum.
This is no doubt the *Colocasia, sive Faba Aegyptia veterum* C. B. Pin. The name *Colocasia* seems to be due to a confusion of the root of the plant with that of *Aron maximum Aegyptiacum, quod vulgo Colocasia* C. B. Pin. (*Arum Colocasia* L.). The plant is *Nymphaea Nelumbo* L., *Nelumbium speciosum* Willd. Nymphaeaceæ. N. Africa and tropical Asia.

Bearded Creeper. Chondrilla crupina.
Centaurea Crupina L., *Crupina vulgaris* Cass. Compositae. Mediterranean.

Bears-breech, or Brank Ursin. Branca ursina.
Two plants have been so named. On p. 157 of the *Pinax*, Bauhin gives, as a synonym of his *Sphondylium vulgare hirsutum*, the *Branca ursina* of Brunfels, Tragus, and Cordus; this plant is *Heracleum Sphondylium* L. Umbelliferae.

On p. 382 of the *Pinax*, Bauhin establishes his genus *Acantha sive Branca ursina*, of which his first species is *Acanthus sativus vel mollis Vergilii* with *Branca ursina Italorum* Guilandinus as a synonym: his second species, *Acanthus aculeatus*, has *Branca ursina aculeata* Lugd. as a synonym. These two species correspond respectively to *Acanthus mollis* L. and *Acanthus spinosus* L., the former belonging to S. Europe, the latter to central Europe. Acanthaceae.

Seeing that the plant is mentioned by Ray among his 'Capsulate Herbs not Campanulate,' and not among his 'Umbelliferous Herbs,' it is clear that he referred to the *Acanthus* and not to the *Heracleum*: but the species remains uncertain.

Berrybearing Chickweed. Cucubalum.
Cucubalus bacciferus L. Caryophyllaceae. Europe.

Berrybearing Wolves-Bane, or Herb Christopher. Aconitum racemosum.
Actaea spicata L. Ranunculaceae.

Binding Bean Tree. Acacia.
Refers probably to both *Mimosa Senegal* L. and *M. nilotica* L., *Acacia arabica* Willd. and *A. Senegal* Willd., plants producing Gum Arabic. Leguminosae. Arabia and Egypt.

Birds Ey. Paralysis montana.

A species of *Primula*, but I cannot trace it by the Latin name. Hudson (*Flora Anglica*) applies the English name to *Primula farinosa* L.

Blew Daisy. Globularia.

Globularia vulgaris L. Selaginaceae. S. Europe.

Boxthorn. Lycium.

Lycium barbarum L. Solanaceae. China.

Broad Leaved Friars Cowle. Arisarum latifolium.

Arum Arisarum L., *Arisarum vulgare* Targ. Toz. Araceae. Mediterranean.

Bulbous Iris. Iris bulbosa.

Iris Xiphium L. Iridaceae. Spain.

Bulbous Violet. Viola bulbosa.

Leucojum vernum L. (Snowflake). Amaryllidaceae.

Candy Alexander. Smyrnium.

Smyrnium Olusatrum L. Umbelliferae.

Childing Mercury. Phyllon.

Mercurialis tomentosa L. Euphorbiaceae. S. Europe.

Codded Loosestrife. Lysimachia siliquosa.

Epilobium palustre L. Onagraceae.

Codded Mouse-Ear. Pilosella siliquosa.

Arabis Thaliana L., *Sisymbrium Thalianum* J. Gay. Cruciferae.

Codded Through Wax. Perfoliata siliquosa.

Brassica orientalis L., *Conringia orientalis* Dum. Cruciferae. Europe.

Codded Willow Herb. Lysimachia siliquosa.

Epilobium palustre L. Onagraceae.

Crimson Grass Vetch. Catanance.

Lathyrus Nissolia L. Leguminosae.

Dogs Tooth. Dens caninus.

Erythronium Dens canis L. Liliaceae. Europe and N. Asia.

Evergreen Privet. Alaternus.

Miller (Dict.) suggests *Ligustrum vulgare sempervirens*; but the plant indicated here is *Rhamnus Alaternus* L. Rhamnaceae. Mediterranean.

Female Firr Tree. Abies foemina.

Pinus Abies L., *Picea excelsa* Link.

Coniferae. Europe.

Female Fluellin or Female Speedwell. Elatine.

Miller (Dict.) identifies this as *Veronica Chamaedrys*. It is, however, the *Veronica foemina* of Matthiolus and others, the

Elatine folio subrotundo of C. B. Pin., *Antirrhinum spurium* L., *Linaria spuria* Mill. Scrophulariaceae.

Galls. Elaeagnus Cordi.

Elaeagnus angustifolia L. Elaeagnaceae. Europe.

Garden Brooklime. Cepaea.

Sedum Cepaea L. Crassulaceae. Europe.

Garden Cress. Nasturtium.

Tropaeolum minus L. Geraniaceae. Peru.

Guttwork or Trouble Belly. Tarton rair.

Daphne Tarton-raira L., *Thymelaea Tartonraira* All. Thymelaeaceae. S. Europe.

Hartwort. Seseli Massiliense.

Miller (Dict.) regards this as a species of *Tordylium* : but it is *Gingidium umbella oblonga* C. B. Pin., *Daucus Visnaga* L., *Ammi Visnaga* Lam. Umbelliferae. Mediterranean.

Hathcet Vetch. Securidaca.

Coronilla Securidaca L., *Securigera Coronilla* DC. Leguminosae. S. Europe.

Hedgehog Trefoil. Medica echinata.

Probably *Medicago minima* L. Leguminosae.

Herb Frankincense of Galen. Libanotis Galeni.

Cachrys Libanotis L., *Hippomarathrum Libanotis* Koch. Umbelliferae. N. Africa.

Herb Frankincense of Theophrastus. Libanotis Theophrasti.

Laserpitium latifolium L. Umbelliferae. Europe.

Herb Terrible. Alypum Monspelensium.

Globularia Alypum L. Selaginaceae. Mediterranean.

This name is identified by Miller (Dict.) with *Daphne Tartonraira*, which is certainly not the plant to which the name is applied by Ray.

Holy Rose. Cistus.

The genus *Cistus* L.

Hooded Loose Strife. Lysimachia galericulata.

Scutellaria galericulata L. Labiatae.

Horsefoot or Mountain-Coltsfoot. Cacalia.

Cacalia alpina L., *Adenostyles viridis* Cass. Compositae. Europe.

Indented Sengreen. Sedum serratum.

Saxifraga Cotyledon L. Saxifragaceae. Europe.

Indian Bread. Jucca.

Jatropha Manihot L., *Manihot utilissima* Pohl. Euphorbiaceae. Brazil.

The flour obtained from the roots, known as Cassava, is

used to make a kind of bread: tapioca is also prepared from it.

Indian Hyacinth. Hyacinthus Indicus tuberosus.
Polianthes tuberosa L. Amaryllidaceae. Mexico.

Indian Millet. Sorgum.
Holcus Sorghum L., *Sorghum vulgare* Pers. Graminaceae. Tropics and sub-tropics.

Indian Molle. Molle Arbor.
Schinus Molle L. Anacardiaceae. Tropical America.

Land Caltrops. Tribulus terrestris.
Tribulus terrestris L. Zygophyllaceae. Tropics.

Lazarole. Mespilus Aronia.
This is the *Mespilus Aronia* of Dioscorides: *Crataegus Azarolus* L. Rosaceae. Asia Minor.

Malacotoon or Peach. Malus persica.
Amygdalus persica L., *Prunus Persica* Stokes. Rosaceae. Temperate Asia.

Male Balsam. Balsamina mas.
Momordica Balsamina L. Cucurbitaceae. Tropics.

Mastick. Marum.
Thymus Mastichina L. Labiatae. Spain and N. Africa.

Mountain Ramson. Victorialis longa.
Allium Victorialis L. Liliaceae. Europe.

Mule Fearn. Hemionitis.
Asplenium Hemionitis L. Spain and N.W. Africa.

Myrtle Sumach. Rhus myrtifolius.
Polygala Chamaebuxus L. Polygalaceae. Europe.

Narrow Leaved Friars Cowle. Arisarum angustifolium.
Arum tenuifolium L., *Biarum tenuifolium* Schott. Araceae. Spain.

Oyly Purging Pulse. Sesamum.
The genus *Sesamum* L. Pedalineae.

Pompeon. Pepo.
Cucurbita Pepo L. Cucurbitaceae. Asia and Africa.

Prickly Bindweed. Smilax aspera.
Smilax aspera L. Liliaceae. Europe and Asia.

Purging Thorn. Rhamnus catharticus.
Rhamnus cathartica L.

Red Saunders. Santalum rubrum.
Pterocarpus santalinus L. Leguminosae. East Indies.

Red Sumach. Coccigrea.
Rhus Cotinus L. Anacardiaceae. Mediterranean, etc.

Rough Spleenwort. Lonchitis (Holly Fern).
Polypodium Lonchitis L., *Polystichum Lonchitis* Roth.

Round Leaved Oysterweed. Opuntia marina.
Probably *Corallina Opuntia* L., *Halimeda Opuntia* Lmx. A Seaweed.

Sage Mullein. Salvia fruticosa.
Phlomis fruticosa L. Labiatae. S. Europe.

Sana Munda.
Daphne Thymelaea L., *Thymelaea Sanamunda* All. Thymelaeaceae. Europe.

Scorching Fennel. Thapsia.
Thapsia L. The species is probably *T. foetida* L., *Elaeoselinum foetidum* Boiss. Umbelliferae. S. Europe.

Sea Plantain. Holosteum.
This name is usually applied to *Plantago maritima* L.: but judging from the Latin name, it seems to refer here to *P. subulata* L. of S. Europe. Plantaginaceae.

Sermountain. Siler montanum.
Laserpitium Siler L. Umbelliferae. Europe.

Silk Grass. Apocynum rectum Syriacum.
This English name has been applied to a variety of plants. This plant is *Asclepias syriaca* L. Asclepiadaceae. N. America.

Spiked Willow of Theophrastus. Spiraea Theophrasti.
Spiraea salicifolia L. Rosaceae. Europe.

Spotted Sanicle. Sanicula guttata.
Saxifraga rotundifolia L. Saxifragaceae. S. Europe.

Stinking Ground Pine. Camphorata.
Camphorosma monspeliaca L. Chenopodiaceae. Mediterranean.

Sweet Mountain Rose. Ledum alpinum.
Rhododendron hirsutum L. Ericaceae. Europe.

Sweet Whort. Diospyros.
Diospyros Lotus L. Ebenaceae. Temperate Asia.

Taca Mahaca.
Populus balsamifera L. Salicaceae. N. America and Asia.

Thorny Burnet. Poterium.
Astragalus Tragacantha L. Leguminosae. Mediterranean.

Treacle Wormwood. Camelina Myagrum.
Erysimum cheiranthoides L. Cruciferae.

Tree Spurge. Tithymallus arborescens.
Euphorbia dendroides L. Euphorbiaceae. Mediterranean.

Trubs. Tuber. (The Truffle.)
Lycoperdon Tuber L., *Tuber aestivum* Vitt. A Fungus.

True Service. Sorbus.
Sorbus domestica L., *Pyrus Sorbus* Gaertn. Rosaceae. Europe.

Tuberous Flower de Luce. Iris tuberosa.
Iris tuberosa L. Iridaceae. S. Europe.

Underground Chickling. Arachidna.
Lathyrus amphicarpos L. of Syria; or possibly *Arachis hypogaea* L. of tropical S. America. Leguminosae.

Vinnewd. Mucor.
A curious name for the common white Mould Fungus: probably *Mucor Mucedo* L.

Water-Caltrope. Tribulus aquaticus.
Trapa natans L. Onagraceae. Europe and the East.

White Maidenhair. Adianthum album.
Asplenium Ruta muraria L. Filices.

Wild Bay. Laurus tinus.
Viburnum Tinus L. Caprifoliaceae. Mediterranean.

Wild Cowcumber. Cucumis asininus.
Momordica Elaterium L., *Ecballium Elaterium* A. Rich. Cucurbitaceae. Mediterranean.

Wild Germander. Chamaedris spuria.
Veronica Chamaedrys L. Scrophulariaceae.

Wild Liccorice. Glaux vulgaris.
Astragalus glycyphyllos L. Leguminosae.

Wild Rock Cherry of Austria. Mahaleb.
Prunus Mahaleb L. Rosaceae. S. Europe.

Winged Wild Pease. Ochrus.
Pisum Ochrus L., *Lathyrus Ochrus* DC. Leguminosae. S. Europe.

Yellow Arabian Mustard. Draba lutea.
Sisymbrium strictissimum L. Cruciferae. Central Europe.

Yellow Saunders. Santalum citrinum.
This English name is applied to *Santalum Freycinetianum* Gaudich., of the Sandwich Islands, and to *Bucida capitata* Vahl (*Terminalia Hilariana* Steud.) of Brazil: but it is improbable that either of these is the plant intended by Ray. In the *Historia*, referring to *Santalum*, he quotes Garcia ab Horto (*Aromatum &c. Historia*, Latin edition by Clusius, 1593, p. 68), who mentions three species, *S. rubrum*, *album*, and *pallidum* (or *citrinum*) as occurring in the East, the two latter species growing especially in Timor and Java. Ray's plant

must therefore be an oriental species. *Santalum pallidum* or *citrinum* is not quoted by Linnaeus, so it is only possible to conjecture what it actually is. Possibly it may be merely *Santalum album* L., the Sandal-wood-tree: for the wood of this tree is yellow, the tint of the heart-wood varying from light to dark according to its age.

Yellow Wild Vetch. Aphaca.
Lathyrus Aphaca L. Leguminosae.

Plant names from Ray's *Historia Plantarum*, t. II (1688):

Areck or Faufel. Areca, Palmae species.
Areca Cathecu L. Palmaceae. East Indies.
Bonana-tree. Bananiera.
Musa sapientum L. Scitamineae. Tropical Asia.
Dogs-stones. Cynosorchis.
Orchis pyramidalis and *O. militaris* L. Orchidaceae.
Dutroy. Stramonii seu Daturae Indicae species.
Datura Stramonium L. Solanaceae. Cosmopolitan.
Fool-stones. Orchis.
Female: *Orchis Morio* L.; Male, *Orchis mascula* L.
Jesuits-tree. Arbor Peruviana, sive febrifuga, Quinquina.
Species of *Cinchona* L. Rubiaceae. South America.
Lote-trefoil. Lotus Herba.
Species of *Lotus* L. and *Melilotus* L. Leguminosae.
Saracens Consound. Solidago Saracenica, Virgae aureae species.
Senecio saracenicus L. Compositae. Europe.

S. H. VINES.

A GARDEN IN ITALY

Who ever wearies of speaking, or writing, or reading about gardens in whatever quarter of the globe they are to be found? And the very words "a garden in Italy" have a special charm. For they conjure up visions of cut hedges, of tall stately cypresses, of bowers of roses, and a wealth of blossom that seem part and parcel of the "bel paese," and that we invest in many cases with qualities far beyond their real deserts. For in Italy the "garden," pure and simple, is a widely different thing to what we connect with the word in an English sense, and indeed the conditions of life and climate in that land beyond the Alps are such as to make this a difficulty and often an impossibility. The Italian of to-day differs most from his forefathers in that a love of detail has no part in his being. He will be quick, intelligent, willing up to a certain point, but to ask or expect of him to be neat, and to finish his work with accuracy and care, is to ask what he cannot give. And it is chiefly in this lack of detail and in neat, careful finish that an Italian garden differs from an English one. There are of course exceptions, but they are few and far between,

and when the differences of the countries are borne in mind it is not difficult to see why it should be so. The intense heat of the sun in Italy in the summer months burns and dries up most of the flowers so quickly that, except in a few favoured spots where a large supply of water is attainable and labour is cheap, it is hardly worth while planting them. An Italian garden may consequently be more generally and correctly classed under the head of "pleasure-ground," or "pleasaunce"; and those who have had the good fortune to do so know how pleasant it is to wander through some of those beautiful grounds, under covered, shady alleys, or beside cool lakes, while showers of white and yellow Banksian roses add their note of colour in the spring, and flowering bushes of pink and white Oleanders, dotted round the house in tubs, make the air heavy with scent on the hot nights of July and August. Roses have a shorter spell of glory than in our more northern climes, for by June the wealth of blossom is over, only the bolder, hardier Teas being able to make head against the fierce force of the sun. The nightingales however come in June to compensate, as far as they can, for the shortcomings of the flower they love, and their dirges are accompanied by the dance of myriads of fire-flies who hold revel in the air and on the ground in an unceasing display of Lilliputian fireworks.

Several years have now come and gone since I became the owner of a garden in the North of Italy. My first sight of a place that was soon afterwards to be my home was on a calm mild day in November, when "the shadow of the winter was on the year,"

and when the autumn tints had already given place to uniform tones of grey and brown. The approach to the house was under a long avenue of hornbeam trees (*Carpinus betulus*) whose leafless branches arched high overhead seemed like the framework of some gigantic Gothic Cathedral, awaiting only the hammer and chisel of a cunning workman to give the finishing touches for the decoration and completion of the beautifully proportioned outlines. The garden itself, set within cut hedges and bounded on each side by arbours formed entirely of hornbeams, was a decided tangle, and told a tale of neglect and indifference that cried aloud for redress. Some of the beds had a few withered plants drooping over grass-grown edges, while in the centre of each bed stood a big ever-green bush that had outgrown its setting, and bade defiance to anything which might ask for admittance into its soil and vicinity. It required some courage to cut down or transplant these centre-pieces, some of them compact, well-established box bushes, others thick, sturdy thuyas and firs, for they were essentially characteristic of an Italian garden of the "Sette Cento," and the fact that an important feature would thus be removed which could never be restored was one that demanded consideration. It was a question of sacrifice any way ; for should the bushes remain all visions as to colour and sweetness and flowers must be given up, and then where would a "garden" come in ? The doubt however was soon got over. The bushes were condemned and removed, and their absence has never been regretted for a single moment.

The garden is enclosed on one side by a low stone wall, with the hornbeam arbours already alluded to flanking it on the East and West sides, while on the South side opposite the wall is a hornbeam hedge, over 30 ft. high, cut in arches with round trimmed pompoms left over each arch. The kitchen-garden lies beyond, on a stretch of ground sloping down to a dell, and is laid out in curved beds, the designer evidently seeing no reason why potatoes and cabbages should not equally with roses and geraniums lay claim to a graceful setting. The cutting of the high hedge and indeed of all the other hedges and covered ways around the house and garden is one of the chief events of our summer existence. It used formerly to be done twice a year, probably when the trees were younger and required more getting into shape than is now the case, but this harsh discipline was found to be affecting the vitality of the hornbeams, and has been reduced to one annual operation which takes place towards the end of July. The business of carrying out this topiary feat is an arduous one, and is entrusted to the gardener, Beppo. His reward during this period of toil consists in an extra glass of wine at his meals, and the aid of a small boy who is by way of watering the plants and keeping the weeds under. Anything beyond this would, it is supposed, have a deteriorating effect on Beppo's morals, let alone the bad precedent it would create in the neighbourhood. Beppo himself is a person of some importance in our midst, having many good qualities and much ability, but marked with all the stubbornness of his race, and with a decided love of money. He was one of the " contadini " of the place

—and for obstinacy and stubbornness your Bellunese peasant is bad to beat—but an accident in his youth made him hopelessly lame and it was thought that the task of tending the garden would be a lighter one than toiling in the fields, and more fitted to his crippled condition. For some years Beppo was unmarried. Not that he disdained the matrimonial state—far from it!—but his first advances in courtship were always in the form of letters, and these letters invariably failed to bring about the desired result. In them Beppo laid before the parents of the damsel his prospects and position, and asked for their daughter's hand. The answer conveyed a request to the suitor to call in person—a request that was promptly complied with—and then the rebuff came. Poor Beppo's lameness was considered an insuperable obstacle, and he hobbled home downcast and rejected. Brighter days however dawned at last: Beppo's hidden virtues triumphed over his outward defects; he became an accepted, smiling bridegroom and is now a proud father.

It is time however to turn from the gardener to the garden, and to tell how the grounds and garden grew into shape and who was the author of their being. The story goes that at the time of the French Revolution a French refugee found shelter and hospitality in the house of one Count Pagani, then the owner of Socchieva, as our property is called. This refugee, though once in the army, had a taste for landscape gardening, and laid out these grounds, and those of another place on the further side of the Piave, the river which flows at the foot of our estate and which rises in the mountains of

Cadore. For some two or three years this French officer remained carrying on his peaceful avocation of planning and planting the avenues and alleys in this part of Italy, safe from the horrors then raging in France, and laying up for himself a memory—for that is all that has come down to us, his name unfortunately being lost—as enduring and beautiful as the groves which he laid out in a foreign land. The trees and hedges were only two or three feet high when a longing for home proved too strong for the exile, and, trusting to pass unnoticed among the crowds then thronging back to France, he returned in an ill-advised moment to Paris. He was immediately seized and guillotined, and nothing further is known of a man whose remarkable talent perished in so ignoble a way, and ere it had time to develop in wider and better known fields.

The space actually devoted to flowers in my garden is not very large, and being enclosed, as has been said, on three sides with hornbeams, the plants have a tendency to run up overmuch, and have to be dealt with accordingly. This setting of green also requires a mass of colour to make as great a contrast and an effect as may be, and salvias, gaillardias, salpiglossis, marigolds, celosias, verbenas, nasturtiums and other annuals are introduced in turn, and succeed generally in keeping up a blaze of colour from June till almost the end of October.

Roses also do very well at Socchieva, but I will only touch on this all-engrossing topic to say that I was surprised in this out-of-the-way corner of Italy to find a plant of the old York and Lancaster rose, and several specimens of the dark-red damask rose

and the moss rose. Many varieties of Teas have now taken their place beside these old favourites, while Dorothy Perkins and Lady Gay (turned for Beppo's benefit into "Dorotea" and "Madonna Allegra") show none of the reticence that might be looked for from new-comers, while they yearly put forth such mighty shoots as to warn us that other and larger sites than those originally allotted them will soon have to be chosen for them to occupy.

ALETHEA WIEL.

MOTYA

THE traveller from Marsala to Trapani, when he has covered some six miles of his journey, will notice to the westward of the railway, in the "Stagnone," or shallow lagoon, which borders the coast of Sicily at this point, a small low-lying green island, backed by another and larger one, behind which again may be seen in the distance the picturesque outlines of Maritimo and Favignana in the Aegadian group. To the northward towers the massive crag of Monte San Giuliano, the ancient Eryx. To the southward lies the busy and prosperous little town of Marsala, occupying the site of the former Lilybaeum. The island, or rather islet, for it is nothing more, whose position I have thus briefly indicated, is now known as San Pantaleo, but in classical times it was called Motya[1] (Μοτύη) and was the chief stronghold of the Phoenicians in that part—the extreme western region—of Sicily, at first a free Punic city, and afterwards a loyal dependency of Carthage.

[1] *οὐ μακρὰν γὰρ τοῦ λόφου τούτου* (sc. Eryx) Μοτύη *πόλις ἦν ἄποικος* Καρχηδονίων, *ᾗ μάλιστα ἐχρῶντο κατὰ τῆς Σικελίας ὁρμητηρίῳ* (Diodorus lib. xiv. c. 47) : *αὕτη δ' ἡ πόλις ἦν ἐπί τινος νήσου κειμένη, τῆς Σικελίας ἀπέχουσα σταδίους ἕξ, τῷ δὲ πλήθει καὶ τῷ κάλλει τῶν οἰκιῶν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν πεφιλοτεχνημένη διὰ τὴν εὐπορίαν τῶν κατοικούντων* (*ibid.* c. 48).

It now lies peacefully enough among the quiet waters that lap its shores ; but twenty-three centuries ago it was the scene of one of the fiercest and most stubborn encounters in the history of that lovely but distressful land, the cock-pit of the warring civilisations of the Mediterranean, which, so often devastated in the past by human violence, has within the last few months been rent and racked once more by the relentless and inscrutable powers of nature.

The siege and storming of Motya in B.C. 397 by Dionysius and the Syracusan army of foot-soldiers, eighty thousand strong, with three thousand cavalry, and a fleet not far short of two hundred vessels, have been so graphically described by the late Professor Freeman in the fourth (posthumous) volume of his great "History of Sicily" edited by Dr Evans, that it is unnecessary to repeat the tale in all its detail here, even if space permitted me to do so. My object is to take certain passages in the account of Diodorus, which occupies seven chapters of his fourteenth book (cc. 47—53), and to examine them in the light of the discoveries made on the island, since Professor Freeman and Dr Evans visited it, by its present proprietor Mr Joseph Whitaker, of Marsala and Palermo. The idea of excavating at Motya first occurred to Mr Whitaker about twenty-five years ago. He then and there set to work to acquire land upon it, and finally succeeded in obtaining possession of the entire estate in 1905. The task was not an easy one, for although the island is only a few hundred acres in extent, the number of petty farms upon it was considerable, most of the holdings being the property of persons born and bred on

the spot, and thus not unnaturally loath to leave it for the mainland. In many cases, however, particularly those of the older inhabitants, the new owner did not insist upon their abandonment of their homes, but was quite willing that they should remain in them as his tenants. The systematic excavation of the island did not actually begin till 1908. It is being conducted by Signor Lipari, a well-known resident of Marsala (one of Garibaldi's famous "Thousand"), under the supervision of Professor Salinas of Palermo, on behalf of the Italian authorities. By an arrangement with the Government, which claims a share of all that is discovered under the existing law, a local museum has been erected at Mr Whitaker's expense, attached to the country-house he has recently built there, in which the objects of antiquarian interest from the excavations are now being placed. To this museum the celebrated bas-relief of a tiger devouring a bull, with a Phoenician inscription, originally found at Motya, which for many years has been preserved in the town-hall of Marsala, has been removed with the consent of the municipality, and will form one of its chief attractions. When I visited the island in March 1908 the museum had not been completed, and the results of the excavations were awaiting classification in an adjoining out-house. They comprise sarcophagi and burial urns in large quantities, *fibulae* and other ornaments, amulets, pottery of various kinds, a few coins, and a great number of spear- and arrow-heads.

The description of Motya, as Professor Freeman saw it, is to be found at pp. 271—273 of the first

volume of the "History," and an excellent plan of the island and its surroundings, to illustrate the military operations of Dionysius, drawn by Dr Evans, is given in the fourth volume, where the incidents of the siege are detailed. Speaking of its aspect, when he visited it, Professor Freeman says :

"The modern San Pantaleo contains only one or two houses in which traces of the stones of Motya have been seen. For that very reason we are better able at Motya than anywhere else in Europe to track out the whole line of defence of an ancient Phoenician city. The line of the wall may still be traced all round the coast, following the course of the low cliff. Its masonry is to be seen in many places, suggesting that we have here the work of more than one period. Everywhere the uncemented stones affect more or less of a rectangular shape ; but in some parts the masonry is far ruder than in others. Several towers may be traced, and two gates, north and south.

"Of these the northern one, the best preserved piece of the whole wall, belongs to the ruder work. Neither the jambs of the gate nor the neighbouring corner shew any trace of the smoothing tool. Unluckily the jambs of the gate only are left ; we have to guess at what they supported, whether the mere lintel like the Greek *propylaia*, or the apparent arch on a great scale. The fragment has a bold and stately air ; it is doubtless a memorial of the free Phoenician city, before Motya became a dependency of her younger sister. Within the walls, cisterns are to be seen, and some foundations of buildings. The gods of Canaan doubtless had their temples at Motya as well as elsewhere. We try to call up the effect of the whole island, when it was covered with the public and private buildings of a thickly-peopled city, a city remarkable, as we shall hereafter see, for the towering height of its houses. Floating on its own sheltered sea, like the monster vessels of modern naval warfare, it rose high above the waters, high above the low ground of the guardian peninsula, while further off the craggy outline of Aegonia and its fellows on one side, and the mighty mass of Eryx on the other, seemed to fence in all with bulwarks that might defy attack."

The operations of Dionysius against Motya fall into three divisions, (1) the preliminary measures

taken by him on his first arrival before the town, (2) the combined sea and land fighting with Himilco who made an ineffectual effort to relieve it, and (3) the siege and final assault and sack. To understand these operations, a somewhat more detailed description of the island and its surroundings is needful. It lies, as already stated, in the middle of an inland bay or lagoon bounded on the west, towards the open sea, by the long flat sandy spit, known as the Isola Lunga or Isola Grande, which was in all probability (as shewn in Dr Evans' plan) once joined to the mainland, at its northern extremity, but is now separated from it by a fairly wide channel. This is the "guardian peninsula" of Professor Freeman's above-quoted description. Between San Pantaleo (Motya) and the Isola Lunga are situated two other islets, one called Isola di Santa Maria, and the other La Senola, a mere rock on which stands a Lazzaretto. The distance between Motya and the nearest point on the mainland is barely a mile, and a stretch of water of about the same length separates it from the Isola Lunga. The greater part of the lagoon is very shallow, the depth at the present day (which is no doubt much less than in ancient times) averaging somewhere between two and five feet ; but a deeper channel threads its way through it to the southward, and is used by lighters and similar craft for the purpose of loading the salt which forms a staple article of commerce in the district. Between the northern end of Motya and the mainland the water is peculiarly shallow, and the remains of the ancient artificial causeway or raised road which once connected the two shores are

still plainly visible. Carts, in fact, frequently pass to and fro along it, as I saw when I was there last year.

When Dionysius and his overwhelming force appeared on the scene, the Motyans felt[1] (so Diodorus states) no alarm, but made preparations for a siege in full expectation of the approach of a relieving expedition from Carthage. The most important of these consisted in the cutting[2] of the causeway or mole just mentioned to prevent its use by the enemy. Dionysius, as we are informed, at once took stock of the situation with his engineers, and began to prepare earthworks for the attack of the town. He anchored his large vessels by the entrance to the harbour, *i.e.* to the southward of the island, and his transports were drawn up near the shore of the mainland. He then left Leptines the admiral in charge, and marched against the cities in the vicinity which were in alliance with Carthage, viz. Halicyae, Soli, Egesta (Segesta), Panormus (Palermo) and Entella. Egesta and Entella were besieged, and the territory of the other three was ravaged.

Meanwhile Himilco, the Carthaginian general, attempted to create a diversion, by sending a fleet under an admiral to attack Syracuse. Entrance was effected into the Great Harbour by night, and most of the craft lying at anchor there were sunk. But the main object of this counter-stroke was not

[1] οἱ δὲ τὴν Μοτύην κατοικοῦντες προσδεχόμενοι τὴν ἐκ Καρχηδονίων βοήθειαν οὐ κατεπλήττοντο τὴν Διονυσίου δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν παρεσκευάζοντο (*ibid.* c. 48).

[2] εἶχε δὲ καὶ ὁδὸν στενὴν χειροποίητον φέρουσαν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Σικελίας αἰγιαλόν, ἣν οἱ Μοτυηνοὶ τότε διέσκαψαν, ὡς μὴ προσόδους ἔχοιεν κατ᾽ αὐτῶν οἱ πολέμιοι (*ibid.* c. 48).

achieved, for Dionysius was not drawn away from the western end of the island by it. When he had done what he thought necessary against the other dependencies of Carthage he concentrated all his energies upon the task of the reduction of Motya. He returned to the position he had already taken up in its immediate neighbourhood, and the second stage of the operations began. The earthworks which he had directed Leptines to commence before he went away were now prosecuted with greater vigour, as a vastly larger body of men could be detailed for the purpose. As the mole grew in size, more and more engines were advanced towards the walls of the city[1].

It must, I think, be concluded that these earthworks of Dionysius were in the nature of reparations and extensions of the original causeway, which was only about fifteen feet in width. Diodorus does not state at what point or to what extent it was cut by the Motyans, but this is not very material. Most probably, after the breach had been repaired, large additions were made to it, perhaps along its whole length, but in any case at the point where it approached the northern gate of the fortifications. Mr Whitaker, whom I have consulted on this question, writes as follows :

"It would be most difficult, I think, to say whether additions to the original roadway had been made at a subsequent period. The above width (*i.e.* fifteen feet) of road would, however, be sufficient to allow fairly large-sized engines, or wheeled vehicles, to pass singly ; and on their arrival opposite the island, such engines

[1] *εὐθὺς οὖν πολλαπλασίους ἄνδρας τοῖς ἔργοις τε προστιθεὶς ἐχώννυε τὸν μεταξὺ πόρον, καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς ἐκ τοῦ κατ᾽ ὀλίγον ἅμα τῇ τοῦ χώματος αὐξήσει προσήγαγε τοῖς τείχεσιν* (*ibid.* c. 49).

might have been deployed in an extended front, for the foreshore all along that part of the island is extremely shallow. It may possibly have been precisely this foreshore that Dionysius caused to be filled up with rubbish, in order to deploy his towers and other engines of destruction. We have not found traces of a mole or causeway approaching any other part of the island, nor, do I think, there could have been any other."

Himilco himself now arrived from Carthage with a fleet of a hundred vessels, in the hope of raising the siege. His attempt, which is related by Diodorus in a single chapter (c. 50), was a complete failure, but might easily have succeeded against a less resourceful commander than Dionysius. He appeared suddenly, at dawn, and, before the Syracusans, who were taken by surprise, could do anything, he destroyed or burnt a portion of their fleet which was lying off the entrance to the harbour. He then moved further in, and prepared to attack the vessels which were docked inside. Dionysius, realising that a fight in the confined area of the harbour against a superior force would very likely prove disastrous (as it had done to the Athenians in the crucial engagement in the Great Harbour at Syracuse seventeen years before), hit on a bold expedient, and saved his ships, by transporting them bodily over the isthmus at the northern end of the bay and so gaining the open sea[1]. Meanwhile, though Diodorus does not give any account of the manner in which it was accomplished, the new-

[1] *διόπερ τῷ πλήθει τῶν στρατιωτῶν ῥᾳδίως διελκύσας τὰ σκάφη διὰ τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν ἐκτὸς τοῦ λιμένος θάλατταν διέσωσε τὰς ναῦς* (*ibid.* c. 50). This is the explanation of the manœuvre as given in Dr Evans' plan. The distance the ships would have to be transported is not much under two miles. I am inclined to think, however, that it may have been considerably shorter, as the harbour may well have extended further towards the conjectured northern isthmus than appears in the plan.

fangled engines of the Syracusan commander must have been moved to a suitable position upon the Isola Lunga, from which in the subsequent combat they played with terrifying effect upon the Carthaginian fleet. Himilco attacked the leading Syracusan vessels, but was beaten off by a shower of missiles not only from the bowmen and slingers on board of the ships, but from the catapults stationed on land[1]. These *καταπέλται ὀξυβέλεις* were an invention of Dionysius himself, and this was apparently the first occasion on which they were employed in warfare, with very destructive results. They discharged a number of spear- and arrow-heads at one time, after the fashion of a modern *mitrailleuse*. It is an interesting fact that, since the excavations at Motya have been undertaken, quantities of these spear- and arrow-heads have been discovered, up to the present time almost entirely along the line of the fortifications, where the Syracusan attack was pressed, and many of them have their points blunted by impact against the walls. Himilco, the spirit of whose men was evidently cowed by these awe-inspiring machines, abandoned the unequal struggle and sailed away to Africa, leaving the unfortunate Motyans to their now inevitable fate.

The third and last act of the tragedy at once commenced. The energetic Dionysius, having made short work of Himilco, directed all his efforts against the doomed city, which with grim determination prepared itself for the worst. Many hands had been

[1] *ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς γῆς τοῖς ὀξυβελέσι καταπέλταις οἱ Συρακόσιοι χρώμενοι συχνοὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἀνῄρουν· καὶ γὰρ κατάπληξιν εἶχε μεγάλην τοῦτο τὸ βέλος διὰ τὸ πρώτως εὑρεθῆναι κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρόν* (*ibid.* c. 50).

at work upon the mole, and all was ready for the assault[1]. Engines of all kinds were brought up to the walls, battering-rams for breaching them, catapults for driving away the defenders on the battlements, and huge wheeled towers, of six storeys, to match the height of the houses within, which were of exceptional size and magnificence. The scene must have been an extraordinary one. The Motyans, we read, reared very high masts against the walls and from their projecting yardarms slung men aloft in cradles who threw lighted torches and blazing tow steeped in pitch upon the enemy's machines. The Syracusans rushed up and quenched the flames, and after making numerous assaults with their battering-rams succeeded in throwing down a part of the wall. A violent hand-to-hand struggle ensued at the breach, which at last resulted in favour of the Greeks. The Motyans fought desperately, realising that they had no way of escape either by land or sea; but in the end their outer defences were carried. If our theory of Dionysius' approach to the city is correct, the part of the wall which was breached must have been in the immediate neighbourhood of the northern gate described by Professor Freeman. The city was as yet, however, by no means wholly taken. The Motyans skilfully barricaded the narrow openings between the outermost houses, and used the latter for a second line of defence, as if they were a wall of costly construc-

[1] *Διονύσιος δὲ τῇ πολυχειρίᾳ τῶν ἐργαζομένων συντελέσας τὸ χῶμα, προσήγαγε παντοίας μηχανὰς τοῖς τείχεσι, καὶ τοῖς μὲν κριοῖς ἔτυπτε τοὺς πύργους, τοῖς δὲ καταπέλταις ἀνέστελλε τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπάλξεων μαχομένους· προσήγαγε δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὑποτρόχους πύργους τοῖς τείχεσιν, ἑξωρόφους ὄντας, οὓς κατεσκεύασε πρὸς τὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν ὕψος* (*ibid.* c. 51).

tion[1]. Dionysius replied by bringing his wooden towers inside the walls, and throwing gangways (ἐπιβάθρας) from them upon the roofs of the houses, which they equalled in height. A sanguinary encounter it must indeed have been, fought out as it was under these unprecedented and sensational conditions, upon a series of aerial platforms from which the combatants continually fell headlong to the ground.

The Motyans unquestionably possessed some ships, but the blockade of Dionysius was too strict for them to operate. One of the most interesting discoveries which has been made by Mr Whitaker, is a rectangular enclosure substantially built of stone, at the southern end of the island, which was evidently a small inland harbour or *cothon* (measuring about forty yards by twenty) with a narrow stone-lined channel leading to the sea. This had been effectually disguised by its conversion into a salt-pan, such as are in common use in the district, but its original purpose is unmistakeable. We may imagine it packed, during the siege, by the small vessels of the Motyans, which would be as useless to them as the Russian battleships were to the defenders of Port Arthur.

The fighting went on with varying fortunes for several days, and we are told that Dionysius used to call off his men every evening by the sound of a trumpet[2], leaving the Motyans in peace till the

[1] θεωροῦντες δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐπικουρίαν περιῃρημένην, ἐνέφραττον τοὺς στενωπούς, καὶ ταῖς ἐσχάταις οἰκίαις ἐχρῶντο καθάπερ τειχίῳ πολυτελῶς ᾠκοδομημένῳ (*ibid.* c. 51).

[2] τέλος δ' ἐφ' ἡμέρας τοιαύτης τινὸς τῆς πολιορκίας γινομένης, Διονύσιος αἰεὶ πρὸς τὴν ἑσπέραν τῇ σάλπιγγι τοὺς μαχομένους ἀνακαλούμενος ἔλυε τὴν πολιορκίαν (*ibid.* c. 52).

following day. When they had grown accustomed to this procedure, he despatched a band of picked men led by Archylus of Thurium, who by night set scaling ladders against the houses which had fallen in, and after occupying a convenient position, admitted Dionysius and his troops. The Motyans were caught napping, and though they displayed their customary bravery, the Syracusans by force of superior numbers finally wore them down.

I need not describe in detail the closing scenes of horror, after the whole Syracusan force poured across the causeway into the city, and the pitiless slaughter of the wretched inhabitants began. The troops got completely out of hand, and not a soul, old or young, would have been left alive had not Dionysius, always equal to the occasion, devised a plan to bring the butchery to an end. He sent heralds to tell the Motyans to fly for refuge into the temples which were respected by the Greeks[1]. They did this, and the soldiers then desisted from their bloody task, and turned their attention to plunder. "A great quantity of silver, and no little gold, with costly raiment and much store of other goodly gear," says Diodorus, "was carried off." The loot of the city was given by Dionysius to his troops, to encourage them to fresh exertions. Archylus and others who had distinguished themselves, were

[1] *παρεστήσατο κήρυκας τοὺς μετὰ βοῆς δηλώσοντας τοῖς Μοτυαίοις φυγεῖν εἰς τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἱερὰ τιμώμενα* (*ibid.* c. 53). It is evident from these words that besides "the gods of Canaan" there were other gods worshipped on the island. So far the excavations have only revealed one building which by the character of its architecture seems not unlikely to have been a temple.

rewarded according to their merits. One Daïmenes and certain other recreant Greeks who had fought on the Carthaginian side, were crucified. A garrison, chiefly composed of the Sikel allies of Syracuse, was left in charge of the city under Biton, a Syracusan, and a fleet of a hundred and twenty ships, with Leptines, to watch for any invading force from Carthage. The siege of Motya was over[1].

It only remains to state what other discoveries of interest have been made in the course of the excavations, in addition to those already mentioned. The walls, partly composed of huge unworked rocks in so-called Cyclopean style, and partly of solid well-wrought masonry, have been carefully explored, and some interesting features, not visible before, have come to light. The northern gate, which struck Professor Freeman as being the finest survival of the Phoenician fortifications, now seems likely to be surpassed by the southern gate, the massive battlements of which have been found lying in its immediate vicinity.

Besides this, two important stone staircases in the line of the walls have been disclosed, one to the north-east of the island, composed of a double flight with twenty-three steps, the other presenting a single flight of only eleven. The former of these staircases, which formed a sally-port descending to sea-level, and which I saw shortly after it was unearthed by Signor Lipari, is in almost complete preservation.

[1] The city was never rebuilt. It was with a view to repair their loss that the Carthaginians subsequently founded Lilybaeum, which became their principal fortress in Sicily.

Another very striking discovery is that of a necropolis at the northern extremity of the island, on the strip of shore between the fortifications and the sea. This is highly interesting to the archaeologist, as it shews two forms of interment in close propinquity, cinerary urns, with cremated remains, being found at the lower level, and sarcophagi above them. The vases recovered from the lower stratum are all of very primitive shape and design. Mr Whitaker, no doubt rightly, considers this necropolis to have been the ancient cemetery of Motya, both in prehistoric and early Phoenician times, while the necropolis of Birgi (on the mainland approached by the causeway) was used for interments in the later period of the island's history. He has excavated in two different spots at Birgi, and has found numerous sarcophagi of the usual Phoenician type, but all appeared to have been previously visited, though in many he discovered various objects such as small vases of no great value.

The problems presented by the discoveries already made at Motya, and likely to be extended in the near future, as the excavations progress, will doubtless be discussed and solved in due course by archaeological experts; but perhaps enough has been said to shew that it will rank as one of the most interesting sites in Sicily, if not in the whole western Mediterranean area.

In making this slight contribution to the *ἔρανος* in my old friend's honour, I trust that he will accept it as the work of one whose pursuits have not of late lain in the direction of archaeological research, but

who still retains a deep interest in such matters, due very largely to his own stimulating example in bygone happy days at Cambridge.

H. F. Wilson.

Note. The writer's acknowledgments are due to Mr Whitaker for much of the information contained in this article, and to the Editor of the *Standard*, in which a part of it originally appeared, for permitting its reproduction.

THE SWORD OF THE LORD GOD

A.D. 95

In or near the last year of the Emperor Domitian, and when the long grudge of the obstinate and impracticable grandees was soon to be avenged upon him by the obscure instruments of a palace-intrigue, there stood in the list of youths, who were eagerly expecting their commissions in the army, the name of a certain younger son of good family, who has this particular claim upon our interest, that his hopes were set upon serving in Britain[1]. For this ambition Crispinus—that was the name—had the same motive as that which, in the story of Mr Kipling[2], makes the young John Chinn, from the quiet home of his childhood in the west country, look forward already, with dim anticipation, to wearing a certain uniform among the tiger-haunted wilderness of the Bhils. The situation is one of those which at every turn, in pictures of life and society under the Roman empire, remind us, with strange precision, of our own times. Crispinus, like a Chinn, had been bred in the worship of his dead father, who had closed a

[1] Statius, *Laudes Crispini* (*Silv.* 5. 2) 142. This poem is the source of all statements here made, except where the contrary is shown by the context.

[2] *The Tomb of his Ancestors.*

brilliant, or at all events a very successful, public career by a premature death. The family, which bore the ancient and respectable name (or rather title) of Vettius, was senatorian: that is to say, in the nearest translation which our customs admit, they were of the peerage. Vettius Bolanus, the father of our young man, made his reputation, in the latter part of the reign of Nero, under the command of the great Corbulo and in the severe campaign of Armenia. He was rewarded with a post of more honour than comfort at the other end of the world, the government of the unquiet and ill-secured possessions of the Empire in Britain.

Of his merits in this post we are left in some doubt. He had the chance, unfortunate for his fame, to be succeeded in his province by a man who (as it happened) gave a daughter in marriage to the most artistic and perhaps the most inventive word-painter that ever put pen to paper in the name of History. The son-in-law of Agricola wrote a life of him in the course of his practice. Bolanus therefore serves, with others, as a foil to the glory of the hero in a masterpiece by Tacitus, where he stands of course in the shade. He had a slack hand, we are told, relaxed discipline, and so on. Anyhow he was popular; and the traditions of the family, as represented by a friend who wrote in verse, naturally interpreted his popularity in the best sense. Historians, with a natural prejudice against poets and partiality for romancers who do not scan, commonly choose to pronounce in favour of Tacitus, who certainly had a strong motive for colouring, and against Statius, who had certainly less. But anyhow, Bolanus left in

Britain a popular name, and his son was sure to be well received in the camps there. On the mound where his father's chair had been set for judgment—at some Corstopitum, as it might be, or perhaps within that embankment beside the Via Devana which makes the road twist about as you go up from the Backs of the Colleges to the level of the County Court—Crispinus would stand, and read his father's career[1], under the direction of some delighted veteran, in towers and trophies, temples and inscriptions. Thus the boy imagined it, and thus Statius, the old man of letters, who loved him for his bright spirit, has set it down. So Crispinus, at sixteen, only sixteen, was waiting for his commission, and wondering whether by good luck he might be sent to Britain.

To an elderly and chilly Neapolitan, like Statius, the climate of the Scottish Border presented itself as a sort of Inferno or Limbo, a land, as it were, on the edge of things, a land of twilight, where a weary and wasting sun arrives only to pass into night[2]. We laugh; and one has a notion that young Crispinus himself must have smiled. However, one may admit that, for a man of the Mediterranean, both Armenia and Scotland under military conditions must have been trying. In such occupations (he ruled for a year in Asia Minor) Bolanus lived, and died, after marrying a woman destined to a terrible fate,

[1] So I understand Statius, *Silv.* 5. 2. 144–145, cespite...vitae specula. The tribunal-mound serves as an 'outlook', from which the work and doings (*vita*) of the former *legatus* may be surveyed. The words should be punctuated thus: *hic suetus dare iura parens, hoc cespite turmas | affari, vitae specula. castellaque (longe | aspicis) ille dedit, cinxitque* etc. For the sense of *vita*, see Hor. *Sat.* 2. 1. 34.

[2] *v.* 54.

and leaving behind him probably this wife[1], and certainly two sons, apparently twins and both hers. The family would seem to have been, for its position, not rich. For, by 'the fortune of the house'—to give the words of our informant[2],—the younger boy, our Crispinus, was left a younger son in the fullest sense of that expression, dependent in part at least upon his elder for the means of starting in the service and following in the steps of the father[3]. He was however carefully educated, both physically and mentally, according to the methods of the time, and, before he was out of school, was to prove, in a startling manner, that he was capable of using his opportunities.

It was not however to the mother that he was indebted for his chances. She, unless she is belied, would have reduced the family, and the burden on the household finances, in a way too expeditious even for the society which furnished examples to Juvenal. She attempted to destroy the younger son, or at all events she was convicted of the attempt, and punished, with some form of death, by the censorian and paternal authority of the Emperor. Over this ghastly episode our poet throws a certain obscurity; and indeed it is a surprise to our feelings that he should touch on it at all. His touch however is skilful, and nothing could be better in its way than the deprecation and plea for the unhappy woman, which is put into the mouth of the lad who might have been her victim. 'God forgot her, and she fell,' he would say with the Vic-

[1] The order of the events is not quite certain. But see *v.* 91.
[2] *v.* 77.
[3] *v.* 126.

torian dramatist. Let us accuse rather that Power, to whom it should belong to watch the beginnings of sin, and who here, we shall say, must have neglected his office. Her son at least will not be of those who load and blacken her memory. Much rather, if love and prayer might prevail beyond the grave, would he follow with love her miserable soul, and shorten with prayer the time of her purifying[1]. The passage is not only pathetic but, dated as it is, of profound interest and significance,—all the more because the author was anything but a professional philosopher or moralist. We perceive the stir of questions, which all but made impossible the consolidation of Catholic Christianity, which have rent it again and again, and of which the marks are visible in the political and religious map of Europe to this day. Statius, we see, inclines to predestination. But upon the existence of a purgatory, and upon prayer for the dead, he professes, as might be expected, the opinions and doubts of a devout Virgilian.

In consequence of their orphanage, the two lads entered early, too early even for the notions of Italy, upon that measure of freedom which was signified by the change of the gown. Statius notes the necessity for a great misfortune, but affirms that his dear Crispinus bore the ordeal without hurt[2]. And truly he gives us reason to think so; for, in the next stage of the story, Crispinus exhibits such proof of his quality, that, were it not absurd to suppose the publication of a falsehood which the whole public could check and refute, we should scarcely credit it.

[1] vv. 84-96. [2] vv. 64-72.

Among his schoolmates or classmates, among those probably who attended with him the courses in composition and oratory, which were an indispensable preliminary to all branches of the public service, was a friend who fell somehow under the undeserved suspicion of a crime, for which he was put upon his trial. The charge, which the poet hints obscurely, was such as, if proved, would have blasted the defendant for ever,—a very 'thunderbolt' of the law. Crispinus, who (be it remembered) was but sixteen, perhaps still in his sixteenth year, when the story was told by Statius, was at the time of the prosecution entirely without practice in speaking under the conditions of a court of justice. But, being formally and technically of age, he could appear as the advocate of his classmate. And this he actually did, facing in public view the formidable tiers of a dignified Roman jury, and spoke for him, and brought him off. The seniors on the bench and in the audience were astounded, says the reporter[1]. Doubtless they were, and also greatly delighted. Manifestly such an advocate, if he could get through at all, would have immense advantages. But that he should get through, that he should make the attempt, with the permission and confidence of the defendant[2], is a striking testimony to what the Roman training of that age did achieve in its way. The rhetoric which could make such a pupil was assuredly no unsubstantial trick or decoration ; it was a part of character. The scene, one thinks, in

[1] *vv.* 98-110.

[2] *v.* 110 *nec te reus ipse timebat*, 'even the defendant was not afraid of you'—i.e. 'did not fear *your performance*,' 'was content to be in your hands.' So I would understand. The compression of phrase is bold, but Statian.

the right hands, would make a good picture. After this, the son of a Bolanus, already marked for notice by his birth, must have been marked also for his merits. The Emperor, now or before, had distinguished him by a decoration of high dignity[1].

It was not however by his tragic story, or by his forensic adventure, that he attracted the notice of the man, who, if fame be of value, if it is a good thing to be named with kindness in distant ages, could do more for the youth than all Rome from Domitian downwards. Statius, whose romantic *Thebaid*, unrolling slowly year after year, and commended to eager audiences by the charm of exquisite recitation[2], had filled the chief place in literature for longer than Crispinus could well remember, was now launched upon another tale, the *Achilleid*, which he was never to complete. His delicate music, which still has its charm for a willing ear, must have mixed from the beginning with the dreams of the ardent boy, whose ideal (no bad one) was doubtless the Theseus of the Theban epic, and who was of course a sworn devotee of the new Achilles. By this tie and by this only, as it would seem,—at least no other is indicated,—the elder and the youth were brought together. The poet, though not greatly advanced in years, perhaps not much beyond fifty, was broken in health, and glad to feel himself still alive, by his thought and his art, in the young generation whom he swayed. Crispinus caught his eye and his heart. He loved to watch him at sport, and see him ride by the river-side, bare and glowing from the bath, 'like

[1] *vv.* 130-131. [2] Juvenal.

one in armour,' like a knight of the romances, bright Ascanius or lovely Parthenopaeus[1]. More still he loved, at his recitations, to note that face among the hushed auditory. He came to look for it habitually, and to feel that, without Crispinus, the *Achilleid* would lack something hardly to be spared[2].

Yet Crispinus must go, must get away into the world[3]. One guesses that the tragedy of the house, whatever may have been its precise history, would not make home-staying more attractive. The Emperor was favourable to an early start, and so also was the elder brother[4]. The comrade and attendant who, according to custom, should accompany the young officer, was already chosen[5]. Happy he !

'Happy you, his chosen, who, strong in your fresh manhood, will bear with him every march, and share with him every camp,—ay, and perhaps yourself (if such is the Sovereign's pleasure) will wear the sword,—never weary to follow the friend of your heart. Such and so loyal was Pylades, such in the field of Troy was Patroclus,—your bond, your love like theirs. For ever may it last ! So pray I, from whom strong youth begins to run, who can but pray at home, and call a blessing upon your spirit. *But ah ! whenever, as my custom is, I shall essay the tender note, and the great ones of Rome shall assemble to my poesy, O then, Crispinus, how shall I miss you ! Then round the theatre, and in every part, the Achilles of my song will look for a Patroclus—gone !*'

[1] *vv.* 111-124.
[2] *vv.* 160-163, cited below.
[3] *vv.* 1-14.
[4] *vv.* 125-126.
[5] *v.* 152. Whether his name was *Optatus*, may be doubted. Does not *optate* represent poetically the military term *optio* ?

Felix, qui viridi fidens, optate, iuventa
durabis quascumque vias vallumque subibis,
forsan et ipse latus (sic numina principis adsint)
cinctus et unanimi comes indefessus amici;
quo Pylades ex more pius, quo Dardana gessit
bella Menoetiades. quippe haec concordia vobis,
hic amor est. duretque precor! nos fortior aetas
iam fugit; hinc votis animum precibusque iuvabo.
ei mihi! sed questus solitos si forte ciebo,
et mea Romulei venient ad carmina patres,
tu deris, Crispine, mihi, cuneosque per omnes
te meus absentem circumspectabit Achilles[1].

Fashions change, and these verses are not to us, as they must have seemed to Crispinus, and to graver judges than he, the very summit of art. But they are sweet to the ear; the thing is very well said; and moreover, if ever the truth of a sentiment may be inferred from the manner of expression, it is said with sincerity. So is the whole poem sincere. Sincerity is not always the note of Statius,—though we tend now, in our capricious and undisciplined habits of writing, to misjudge other times in this respect, and to suppose (what is not true) that things formally said cannot have been heartily meant. But here there is no room for mistake, or at least no excuse. The poem was written partly for the pleasure that it would give to Crispinus, chiefly for the pleasure of Statius; and it was published for the delight which it gave then, and will ever give, to a natural human taste. No other motive is traceable or to be sought.

What feelings indeed can be more pure, or more worthy of fine expression, than the sympathy of age with the hopes and ardour of youth, than the

[1] *vv.* 152-163.

gratitude of youth for the encouragement and example of age? More especially must such feelings have been sacred to one who, like Statius, was born and bred, as we may say, an educator, and that in an age and place where the vast issues of training, the huge field into which the pupils went forth, invested the process with even more than its inherent interest. The father of the poet, a Greek in all but name, was a teacher of Greek, and in the front of his profession. His business was to fashion the members of a public service, of which the operations extended from the Euphrates to the Atlantic, and from Ethiopia to the Highland Line. The poetry of the thing, the impressive solemnity of that vast dispersal, that enormous variety and importance of occupation, into which those classes, year after year, dissolved and streamed away,—all this the son of the Greek professor felt as a poet should, and has touched with force in the very beautiful poem which is devoted to his father's memory[1]. He touches it again in this very poem to Crispinus, when he asks himself to what point in 'Caesar's compass' the young tribune will go forth, and dots the gigantic circle out with a roll of strange and sounding names[2]:

> ...an iuga Pannoniae mutatoresque domorum
> Sauromatas quaties?...

The poet's own life, or most of it, had been spent, not in professional teaching, but in literary work. But only the more, having in this, as in all things, the feelings of a Greek, only the more, be-

[1] *Silv.* 5. 3. 185-194. [2] *Silv.* 5. 2. 132-139.

cause a 'poet', did he feel himself to be essentially a 'maker' of young minds. And indeed, for him and for his class, to spread the true literary culture, the culture of Hellas, was a vocation sacred in a sense which we cannot easily conceive; so far away from us is the Hellenic life, and so dim, so undreamable, that dream which everywhere inspires the poetry of Statius, that, through the power and patronage of Rome and of Caesar, Hellenism might convert the West and embrace the pacified world. To Statius, youths like Crispinus, well-born lads with the world before them, who nourished their hearts with his verse, were the instruments of a sacred task, the one sacred task and labour of the ages. Year after year he had seen them stream away to all the winds, the better, so he trusted, for him. And once and again, as in the poem to Celer[1], in the poem to Crispinus, he has written the feelings with which he watched. They do him honour; and we may hope, we have every reason to think, that sometimes, often, they were not unrepaid.

But if in theme and sentiment this poem, as a whole, finds a ready response from common humanity, and has even a special fitness for our own age, the conclusion of it sounds a note which we cannot approve, and which, we are likely to say, spoils all. For the sake of dramatic effect, the attitude taken by the poet and speaker is at the beginning that of expectancy; the coveted commission is still in prospect. Only at the end[2] does

[1] *Silv.* 3. 2. The situation there is different, but illustrates our subject at many points.

[2] *Silv.* 5. 2. 168 ff.

it arrive; the gate of promotion is opened by sovereign power, the trust is committed, the oath sworn, and our Lord and God the Emperor, 'the sacred Victor of Germania', delivers to the boy-tribune his first sword:

> felix, qui magno iam nunc sub praeside iuras,
> cuique sacer primum tradit Germanicus ensem!

Here we read language which, though the poet plainly assumes that it will move admiration, does now as a fact move contempt. Here we find the style which we naturally regard, and are taught to regard, as the disgrace of Imperial Rome and her poets, and of those most who use the style most genially, the flatterers (so conceived) of the Flavian dynasty and of the detestable Domitian. Here we find, applied to the office and person of Caesar, that solemn and prophetic tone, which, from wheresoever and howsoever it came, comes into Roman literature first through Virgil and in connexion with the worship of the Augustus. The tone itself we know well, only too well, in other and different writings, for the very sake of which we are shocked at such a transference: 'Who is this that cometh from ...' Domitian's palace at Alba? An angel it is—'a messenger swift beyond all report, whose greatness fills the house.' He is sent—this orderly, this clerk of the Roman war-office—by 'that Nearest God, who from his neighbour hill sees in prospect the ramparts of his Rome':

> Sed quis ab excelsis Troianae collibus Albae,
> unde suae iuxta prospectat moenia Romae
> *proximus ille deus*, fama velocior intrat
> nuntius atque tuos inplet, Crispine, penates?

Evidently the poet does his utmost to invest a simple act of military administration, an every-day despatch, simply because it is an act of the sovereign, with superhuman reverence and all the glow of religious imagination. It moves our disgust, and this the more, because the performer seems to find his pretence so congenial. Or rather it is plainly no pretence. He liked the language. This anyone will admit who, with experience of literary manners, weighs the expression candidly. But how dared he like it? What a slave, we say, must he have been!

Such a judgment has the advantage of being compendious, an advantage which counts for much in the transmission of history. But it has no other. It is partial, prejudiced, and substantially false. Doubtless the worship of the Augustus was turned by the servile to the purpose of servility, as other and more commendable forms have been and are. Doubtless there was little dignity of soul or of person in the woman who grovelled upon the ground, and embraced Domitian's feet, in gratitude for the promotion of her husband to a rank in the civil service, which entitled him to the honours of the Sacred Table, of dining on state-occasions with the Deity[1]. And Statius, who embodies that incident in a panegyric upon her virtues, must have been blind to its extravagance, as all of us are blind, in some degree, to whatever sort of indecency our principles, or the habits of our day, dispose us to condone.

[1] *Silv.* 5. 1. 108 ff. In *v.* 110 we should perhaps read 'vicit *tibi* gaudia cenae',—which might be said, whether the wife was or was not herself included in the invitations. The general sense is clear, for our purpose, whatever be read.

But that the poet himself, when he employed his high faculties of fancy and language to embellish the Augustan theory of 'the present God', was posing for pay, is what no one will believe who will study the facts fairly and at first hand. The poem to Crispinus would suffice to refute such an explanation; for it is far from certain that the piece was ever published in the life-time of the writer or of Domitian, and it bears no trace of being intended for the sovereign's eye. It is, as we have seen already, a genuine product of feeling; and to refuse this character to the final paragraph would be merely arbitrary. Here at least Statius wrote of Caesar as he thought most fit, as he thought becoming in a good Roman. Nor is it difficult to divine the cause of his approval.

Whatever may have been the personal merits or demerits of Domitian,—upon which there would be something to say in a proper place,—it was a defensible opinion, or rather it was the plain truth, that upon the inviolability of the Augustus, and the indefeasible sanctity of the imperial family, rested the hopes of humanity and civilization. The Empire from its very foundation, and by the conditions of its establishment, was naturally exposed to that fate which eventually befell it, to be torn in pieces between rival rebels. Against this danger the sole barrier was the force, whatever that might be, of the military oath, and the sanctity, whatever that might be, with which military allegiance and subordination could be invested. The cursed ill-luck of the succession in the Julian-Claudian family, the hideous mischances of Caligula and Nero,

matured the peril, which was fully revealed by the revolutions of the year A.D. 69. No superhuman faculty was needed to divine that such experiments could not often be repeated. It might well be supposed that upon the 'eternity' of the Flavian dynasty everything was at stake. And indeed it was so. The precarious and illusory respite of the second century did not prevent the desperate convulsions of the third, convulsions predictable, if not from the fall of the Caesars proper, certainly from that of the family which first took their place. Devotion to a family, loyalty to a family, whatever its argument in reason, is a possible guarantee of loyalty in a purely professional soldiery. Neither in private nor in public choice, neither in the figment of adoption, nor in the pretence of senatorial grant, was any such guarantee possibly to be found. Those who thought otherwise were awfully refuted by the event.

It is quite true that, in devising forms of expression for the sanctity of the imperial person and authority, the imperialists were not always happy or very discreet. 'Proximus Deus', the Nearest God, was not exactly the term which was wanted. But neither was it so monstrous, in the thought of those who used it, as we at this distance may suppose. Before we blame poets, philosophers, and statesmen for putting Caesar in front of Jupiter, we should at least consider how very little was the merit and use of Jupiter. On half the civilized world, and that, as it proved, by far the stronger and more solid half, the Capitol had no hold. When Statius, with solemn fervour, opposes the benevolence of Caesar

to the cruelty or indifference of nature[1], he was but doing his best to enforce with imagination and feeling the simple fact that to dissolve 'the Latin peace' would be to fling away the gains of time, to fall back upon savagery, and that the Latin peace depended, for the moment, utterly upon the sanctity of the sovereign. When that frame had been wrecked, the fragments of it which were painfully saved or recovered, in East and West, were rescued by methods of royal consecration, which, to an indifferent eye, might seem to differ from the worship of the Augustus rather in form than in substance.

However, to defend Statius, we do not need so large and speculative a survey. He used the language of his day, not merely with acquiescence, but with honest content and enthusiasm. He thought it a vital matter, that a young man, when he took into his hand the sword of Caesar, should feel verily and indeed that he took it, as the accustomed form declared, from the hand of 'our Lord God', and should swear his oath of fidelity as to the nearest and best gerent of the Powers above. Doubtless, he should have said 'vice-gerent'. But good men have made worst mistakes.

And from the same point of view we may tolerate, enough to enjoy what is good in them, his other flights in the sphere of political religion,—the awe-struck humility of the *Eucharisticon*, or letter of thanks, for his admission to the Celestial Banquet[2],

[1] *Silv.* 4. 3. 134-138.—See also the use of the words *deus*, *Caesar* and *pater* in *Silv.* 5. 3. 203-208.

[2] *Silv.* 4. 2.

or his wild but not ignoble vision of the Sibyl, who blesses the Eternal Prince for building a useful bridge[1]. In this piece and elsewhere, both in Statius and other contemporary poetry, it is a point to note, that the very extravagance of the language should save the authors from certain suspicions. Taken literally, Statius, in the poem of the Bridge, would seem to assure the Emperor that he will live to be 'older than the Appian Road'[2], that is to say, for a good four hundred years. If the poet had meant this of Domitian as a man, or if Domitian could so understand, what pleasure could he find, or be expected to find, in such impudent nonsense? The poet, or rather the Sibyl, speaks in a conventional and figurative hyperbole, confusing the prince and the princedom. It is not of the man that she thinks, but of the pacific throne, of that throne whose foundation, upon the everlasting deep, she dates from the vision of Virgil—

> ex quo me duce praescios Averni
> Aeneas avide futura quaerens
> lucos et penetravit et reliquit.

The courtly rhetoric, like that of most courts, is not very pure; but that of democracies is no better. Who would defend, in word and letter, all that our poets have written of England and of her rulers? Such bubbles are not always the ebullition of servility.

And truly, if Statius was servile to the Emperor, he served for little. His home at one time was a cottage upon the Alban Hills, where he was a humble neighbour of the sovereign himself.

[1] *Silv.* 4. 3. [2] *Silv.* 4. 3. 162.

Domitian, who controlled the aqueducts, allowed him to improve his water-supply[1]. Apart from compliments, and decorations awarded, so far as we know, strictly on competitive merit, that appears to have been the extent of the imperial bribe ; and nothing more, so far as we know, was promised or expected. The poet's reputation as a man of letters, the source of his modest gains, Domitian did not give, and could not have taken away. However, we are not now to argue the whole question of his character. It is enough that, in what he says about Crispinus and the military oath, he may, for anything that appears, have been speaking freely from his heart, and commending to his pupil, in the common terms of the time, what he conceived to be an elementary maxim of public virtue.

Deeply mistaken and deceived, nevertheless, he was scarcely less mistaken than those who thought to save the State by keeping the birthdays of 'tyrannicides', when he supposed that the cult of the Augustus was the destined mould for an universal worship, or that in this form would be achieved the alliance between secular and religious veneration. How different was the true plan of the future, he reminds us himself, by one of those unconscious touches which give so strange an interest to the literature of that central age, when, in a complacent survey of the subject lands, he pauses to note with special pride the region, 'where Jerusalem lies in her ashes, and the Idumaean plants for another's glory the victorious palm[2].' Thither, he conjectures, thither perhaps, the Lord God of Rome might bid

[1] *Silv.* 3. 1. 61-64. [2] *Silv.* 5. 2. 138-139.

the young soldier to carry his trusted sword. Strange it is to read this careless notice of the ruined capital of Judaism, a spot and no more on the world-map, blackened by Roman vengeance, and to remember the real bearing of that destruction upon the fate of Rome, the prospects of Hellenism, and the eternity of the Augustus.

Statius was no prophet in any sense of the word ; but there is nothing absurd, nothing to require discreditable excuse, in his support of the imperial pretensions, deity and all. The exaggerated homage of those times was the product, to a large extent, not of abnormal baseness, but of an almost unparalleled political situation. Find anything like a parallel, and we shall find the like effect. The Anglican extravagances of ‘ passive obedience ’ in the seventeenth century, the cult of sovereign power between the Restoration and the Revolution, reach a height which, if account be not taken of the peculiar causes, will seem not at all less disgraceful than the tone of Statius or Martial. *Mutatis mutandis* there is a marked resemblance. And in neither case is sycophancy the whole or the chief explanation of the phenomenon. The worshippers (it is hardly a misnomer) of Charles the Second were alarmed, not without reason, for the stability of society. The worshippers of the Augustus had much stronger cause for a much more deadly alarm. In the nature of the apprehensions there was indeed a difference, and happily a difference also in the chances of escape. But there is an instuctive analogy nevertheless ; and in neither case was it always or generally true that those who used language, which we

reasonably condemn, were themselves unreasonable or insincere.

The 'Praise of Crispinus', allowance being made for those touches of the time with which we cannot sympathize, will please most readers; and those who may be tempted on to the rest of the poet's occasional pieces will not repent of the trouble. They are unequal, and some are of little value in point of art; but all are worth curiosity. The convenience of an English translation in prose has now been well supplied[1]. We still want a convenient commentary, with footnotes, terse, practical, and time-saving[2], to carry us comfortably along. As the material is mostly collected and accessible, the production of such a book would be a moderate labour. Let us hope that it may commend itself to some competent hand.

A. W. VERRALL.

[1] By Prof. D. A. Slater.

[2] Vollmer's German commentary has many merits, but not exactly these.

CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY AND PREHISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGY

In an address delivered at the Birmingham meeting of the Classical Association in October of 1908 I made the following compressed remarks on the relation between the prehistoric and historic aspects of classical study. I may be allowed to quote these remarks here, and at the same time to enlarge upon what I consider a most important question in view of the proper development of the new and vigorous study of Anthropology and Ethnology, as well as the old and still vigorous study of Classical Archaeology, the interest in which will only cease when culture is no longer valued among men.

"A still more recent development of classical study, mainly due to the influence of the archaeologist and the excavator, is, to put it negatively, that the classical age has been freed from the unnatural isolation in which it had pleased previous ages to fix it, when they claimed for it quite exceptional conditions and thus aroused an artificial opposition as unjust as it is harmful. The organic connexion between the classical age and other ages

and countries, its relation to other civilisations, has been re-established, has endowed it with a truer life, and has also impressed a truer conception of the universal history of man. To illustrate what I mean by an historical analogy nearer to our own times, I would beg you to suppose that the Renaissance in Italy and the Elizabethan age in England had been dealt with by historians and scholars as if they both stood quite by themselves, disconnected from the previous and succeeding ages of Italian and English history, and that this isolation had led to a narrow and an exaggerated concentration upon these single periods in the history of nations.

"The development of archaeological study and of excavation has, of late years especially, widened the vision as regards the lower limits in the history of classical civilisation. In spite of the monumental work done by Gibbon, by Fallmerayer, by Hodgson, by Wickhoff and Strigovski, much work remains for the future as regards the upper and more recent limits of the classical age. But with regard to the earliest periods of classical civilisation the work done by Schliemann, Montelius, Reinach, Ridgeway, and above all by Dr Evans, has, to put it coarsely, given back to us centuries, nay millennia, of early Greek civilisation, the knowledge of which was absolutely withheld from the generation immediately preceding our own. The connexion with the earlier phases of civilisation, down to the neolithic—nay, the paleolithic ages of man, has been defined ; the relation subsisting between the Greek and Graeco-Roman civilisations and that of

Egypt and the East—nay, the whole Mediterranean basin, and beyond that of central and northern Europe, has been made manifest. By reaction it has improved the methods of work and study among the local antiquaries of central and northern Europe, who are no longer actuated by the amateurish spirit of local patriotism, but are becoming scientific observers and archaeologists.

"All this is pure gain, and from our hearts we wish the great workers in this line of study success as we tender to them our enthusiastic appreciation. Nevertheless I venture to strike a note of warning. We are in danger of losing the sense of proportion, of losing sight of the true essence of classical antiquity, owing to the newness and the consequent vividness of interest pertaining to the prehistoric aspect of classical study. Though at times it may be right to insist upon the fact that the Italian Renaissance and the Elizabethan ages form an integral part of the historical development of Italy and of England; though a great lesson may be taught when we learn that the highest fruit and flower of culture was in some way connected with the gropings of half-civilised people, the fact remains that the literature and art of the Renaissance and of the heyday of English life are chiefly worthy of study for the supreme excellence of their artistic production and the depth of their thought as manifestations of the highest beauty and truth, and thus as lasting and living models of the best that men can produce in the later phases of civilisation.

"I wish to say boldly and emphatically that the aesthetic and philosophical side of classical life will

always remain the essence of classical study, as it will of all periods of highest civilisation. All that we have to see to is that we are truthful in our discovery and in our exposition of these aesthetic and philosophic qualities. It is then that we are scientific. It is thus the *method* which makes us scientific, not the subject we choose, and in this scientific method it is, above all, important to recognise the essence of the thing we are studying, to distinguish between what is essential or accidental, truly characteristic or casually indistinctive. Now the essence, the truly characteristic feature of classical life, is its aesthetic and philosophical supremacy ; and we are never scientific if we ignore this, if the recognition of these central features is not the end and goal of classical study. And I maintain that in dealing, however scientifically and soberly, with classical history, literature, art and philosophy, we must, above all, be concerned with the aesthetic and philosophic aspect of Hellenic civilisation. Let us encourage as much as in us lies a sober study of the prehistoric periods of Hellenic civilisation ; but the head and forefront of classical studies will always be the highest literature, art and philosophy of the ancient Greeks and Romans."

The study of Prehistoric Classical Archaeology cannot, and ought never, to be dissociated from the wider departments of Anthropology and Ethnology, of which it forms an integral part.

Few studies—if any—have of recent years undergone such important and radical changes in their methods, such extensive enlargements of their scope and vision, and have produced such splendid

results in these early stages of their new development, as has the study of Anthropology and Ethnology. This surprising advance is not only due to the efforts of the excavator, to which reference has been made above, but to many other causes to be found in the intensification and extension and in the organisation of the study itself.

In the first place, a great synthesis is being made of numerous isolated departments of study, that had previously never gained true vitality or accuracy or observation and judgment, owing to their isolation. This great synthesis is only in its very beginning. Nor are we prepared at this stage of enquiry in this special department to make the great synthesis which we can confidently predict will, in a manner undreamt of in our own day, enlarge and correct our knowledge of the development of man and his works in past ages. When the ground is properly prepared by conscientious students in our own and the succeeding generation, there will spring up some genius like Darwin who will do for Anthropology what that great man did for Biology.

Among the efficient elements which give this new life to Anthropology in our own days may be noted, first, the important fact, that the very meritorious work of the local prehistoric archaeologist, the antiquary and the student of folk-lore—comparatively useless hitherto because the workers themselves were narrow in their vision and in the preparative study of the whole range of their subject—are now beginning to come into touch with their colleagues in other, even remote, localities, and to realise the relation which their work holds

to the study of Anthropology as a whole. On the other hand the anthropologist and ethnologist, who are tending towards that great synthesis, are turning their attention to the huge mass of important facts and observations stored up without system in all these centres of provincial antiquarian lore.

The anthropologist himself has found it useful to subdivide his study into two departments, that of physical and of social Anthropology ; and this subdivision has only tended to accentuate the organic relation which exists between these two aspects of the same subject. They again have come into closer contact with the prehistoric excavator ; and, through him again, the important relation which the discoveries made have to the study of Geology, Biology, Zoology, Comparative Anatomy, has been fully realised and is bearing rich fruit. To this must be added the wonderful impetus which is being given in our own day to the study of savage life and of primitive civilisation by the intelligent travellers and explorers, and the spirit of scientific method and organisation which is being infused into that vast network, spreading over the whole world, and presenting important facts and observations on savage life.

Another important department developed in our day (but which calls for still further organisation and method) is the study of child-life, shedding, as it does, so much light on the early development of man in human society.

Finally, the historian himself—the student of institutions, religion, literature, art, and language—has been impressed with the interest inherent in the

point of view of the anthropologist, and is thus enabled to furnish him with the traces of primitive survivals in the more complex forms of his study of man's life and work.

The result of all these combined efforts is, that Anthropology is gradually establishing a well organised and complete system of information concerning the early and elementary history of man, of human societies and races; and is presenting us with a new and most important department of Science. Such systematic study will not only satisfy that divine curiosity of man concerning man himself and the origin of his societies, institutions and works, which is surely as justifiable in itself as his desire to know as much as he can learn about the stars; but furthermore, besides our knowledge concerning the early and elementary stages of man's life, the anthropological point of view has illustrated and will enlighten us still more concerning the later phases of fully developed historical periods in man's life and institutions, which formerly merely led to hypotheses or *à priori* reasoning, and were therefore without sound foundations. This is especially the case in the study of human institutions and of religion; though it may not be out of place even now to raise a warning voice against the exaggeration which may be attached to a survival in cases where vital motives have existed and exist in historic times. But there can be no doubt that the side-light which Anthropology can throw upon later and more complex phases of man's life does not only present us with interesting information concerning the early origin of the later and higher

developments, but often helps us to understand what may be essential to them in their actual and higher state, by this knowledge of the earlier or embryonic stages.

All this promises enormous gain to human knowledge ; and, surely, such a study is worthy of all encouragement and support. And yet I can see danger ahead, danger in the very newness and vigorous vitality of such a study. The danger always is : that we may exaggerate the claims of such new departures in their relation to the older established forms of study—that the *relative importance* is not realised ; that, in our eagerness to know all we can about the simple and elementary stages of man's life, the systematic study of the higher and more complex phases in his history is neglected and disparaged. The simpler forms of all study are supposed (I think mistakenly) to be capable of more sober, inductive, "sound" reasoning, and therefore more closely to approach what we fondly call the exact sciences ; the complex and highly developed forms, on the other hand, those, for instance, which for their understanding require thought and taste—philosophy, literature, art—appear to be so much more subjective, deductive, "unsound" (*δόξα* and not *ἐπιστήμη*), that they are supposed to be more amateurish, less scientific. The simple geometric design or scratching on a prehistoric vase-fragment is apparently so much more readily classified than the delicacies of style of a certain master or school in the best period of red-figured Attic vase-painting, that the student of the former may be led to imagine himself much

more exact and sober,—and his study to be less a matter of mere taste,—than is the case with the student of Attic vases. So, too, the student of Phonetics in primitive languages may cast doubt on the scientific results of one who studies the distinctive styles in the great masters of developed literature. This is not true. The styles of the Attic vase-painters and of the great poets can be recognised as clearly by a thorough student of the subject as can primitive scratchings or syllabic sounds. On the contrary, the simpler forms may not be individual and may recur in different times and places ; while the complex forms present numerous attributes, the confluence of which assures the recognition of their individuality. There are some valid reasons, however, for our wishing to know all we can about the higher development of Ceramic art and of literature. It is no doubt desirable to reduce all objects we study to their simplest elementary coefficients in order to recognise "laws" ; but certain facts of complex organisation, life and thought, from their very organic nature, are falsified and destroyed by this forced reduction to a simplicity which their life and essence will not bear.

Such higher organisms in the history of man are, for instance, the Hellenic period, the Renaissance in Italy, and the Elizabethan age in England, the Eighteenth Century in France, the Aufklärungsperiode in Germany. It is no doubt important and interesting to realise their connexion with the earliest primitive periods that preceded them ; it is also interesting to notice in these complex forms

the survivals of earlier and simpler primitive phases of development. But we cannot reduce them to this simplicity without destroying their essence; and it is owing to this very organic complexity that these periods in man's history possess a *primateship*, in themselves and educationally, to which reference has been made above.

There exists now a new danger to classical study and especially to the study of Classical Archaeology. It may be, if not submerged, at all events depressed by the powerful waves of prehistoric study beating against the shores of ancient Greece and Rome. In previous days the danger to the study of Greek literature and art came from the study of Philology, of language as such[1]. The danger threatening the study of ancient art and religion, which is essential to the understanding of Hellenism, now comes from the prehistoric and ethnological point of view. It is important and interesting to know the origins and the survivals in Greek Mythology, and we should in no way wish to discourage that most promising study of comparative religion. Much more than has hitherto been done ought to be done in studying the lower religious forms and superstitions of the Greek populace. But it will always remain important to know the views concerning Greek Mythology and Greek Religion of an Aeschylus, a Sophocles, and a Euripides; of Pindar, Plato, Aristotle and the other great writers. Moreover, there is much careful comparative study still to be done as regards ancient Mythology and Religion in

[1] I must refer the reader on this subject to what I published in 1886 in my *Essays on the Art of Pheidias*, Essay I.

the historical times themselves: the question of heroification; the changes in the importance attached to the worship of the several divinities in historical times; of the establishment of new cults, from definite causes, for definite reasons, in ancient Greece and Rome; of their relation to the political and social life in historical times, and of the relation of this worship and these cults to the art of the various periods. All these questions are far from having attained a final stage—on the contrary we are only at the beginning of their proper and systematic study. Such a work as the Kunst-Mythologie of Overbeck only touches the fringe of the great light that may be thrown on the development of types among the gods, and their relation to the actual art of the several periods. Take, for instance, merely the systematic study of Dionysus and his followers, of Hermes, Aphrodite, and other divinities, and pursue them through the several periods in Greek history in their artistic rendering and in literature, and how much may be learned about the development of Greek religion!

It is especially in the study of Greek art, however, that we are only at the beginning. The methods of observation laid down by Heinrich von Brunn were most fruitful in the systematic organisation of our knowledge of ancient Greek art. Many conscientious workers have followed him, and the late Professor Furtwaengler (the extent of whose work in so many departments is stupendous) has produced some lasting results, though I cannot help believing that the hastiness of his conclusions has counteracted the admirable sobriety of method

established by Brunn. The museums of Europe, and some in America, are full of innumerable works of sculpture, that have still to be classified in order that they may give us the full measure of their information concerning the development of the greatest period of art in man's history. New excavations are continually adding to this mass of unidentified material. The vases and vase-painters, represented in all museums by thousands of specimens, are calling for systematic study ; and the same applies to the minor arts, numismatics, the study of gems, terra-cottas, and works of decorative art. For the results themselves to be derived from such work, and for the training and discipline which the work itself brings to the student, the united efforts of qualified archaeologists all over the world will be required for many years to come.

All this is in danger of being neglected in our own days, because of the splendid growth of prehistoric study. We may recognise all the claims to encouragement and support which the anthropological point of view decidedly has ; yet we are justified in demanding the same enthusiastic support for the study of classical art. For it is on their art, together with their literature and philosophy, that the claims of the ancient Greeks will ever rest.

CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

ΤΙΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ Η ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ;
THE LAST SCENE OF THE *BIRDS* OF ARISTOPHANES

'Des ailes! des ailes! fuyons, fuyons cette ville tumultueuse et criarde.' In these words Émile Deschanel caught the spirit and pointed the meaning of the whole delightful fantasy. 'Des ailes! des ailes!' the reader is fain to cry, as he plods his way among the unwinged theories of earthborn commentators. Cloudcuckooland is its own justification, and interprets itself without need of subtlety or after-thought. Peithetairos may found his city without serving as a warning against ambition[1], or as an ideal guide to a new and wonderful Athens to be born of the genius of Alcibiades[2]: the Birds may be allowed to mock the Olympians without becoming a society for the suppression of fanaticism[3]: nor need we read between the lines of our adventurer's triumph[4] the impending doom of Salmoneus, the ultimate tragedy of all irreligious scoffers. The greatest merit of the imagination of the *Birds* is that it is imaginative: the sole and sufficient excuse for this poetry and this fun is that it is poetic and eminently amusing.

[1] Süvern. [2] Köchly. [3] Kennedy. [4] Merry.

Yet in the last scene of all there is a certain seriousness for which the commentator is perhaps justified in trying to find an explanation. To the present writer it seems clear that the spirit of the marriage of Peithetairos and Basileia is, if rightly conceived, religious. The Athenian is pious enough to laugh at his gods with impunity : but a note of solemnity at the end of the laughter can turn the mockery, here as always, into a hymn of praise.

The road to the understanding of this magnificent mixture of seriousness and fun lies through the question which is put into the mouth of Peithetairos, 'Who *is* the Queen ?' And indeed, when we consider the answers which have been propounded by scholars, we are not surprised that Peithetairos himself was at first unable to realise the identity of his bride. Prometheus, in the play, answers vaguely enough, but satisfactorily, 'A very beautiful girl : in fact, the housekeeper who looks after the thunderbolts of Zeus, and every single thing he has, his stores of statecraft, laws, good-sense, his language, his paymasters and the fees they pay.' Unfortunately neither the scholiast nor the editors are content. The scholiast offers two suggestions and one platitude—'Euphronius says that Basileia is a daughter of Zeus. Some call her Immortality....The poet represents Basileia in bodily shape as a woman[1].' This is not promising. The 'daughter of Zeus' is suspiciously like a mythological personage created by a scholiast's after-thought. 'Immortality' is still less helpful ; and the final platitude amounts to a confession of ignorance. However, Stephanus tells

[1] Schol. on l. 1536.

us that the play must have hung fire had not Basileia been a familiar character in Athenian mythology. It is odd, in that case, that Peithetairos does not seem to know her. Still we turn to our dictionaries of mythology in hopes that we may meet some goddess, daughter of Zeus or otherwise, who will satisfy the needs of the case.

Diodorus[1] cheers us at first by producing a highly respectable goddess who answers to this name. Ouranos and Titaea it appears had, besides many sons, 'also daughters; of whom two, the eldest, were she who is known as Basileia, and Rhea.' But unfortunately, as we read on, we discover that these 'two eldest daughters' are in reality but one: the dichotomy is disastrously revealed when we are told 'Basileia nurtured all her brothers: wherefore she acquired the name of the Great Mother.' She is, in fact, only Rhea, under another name.

This is disappointing, but the instance may serve to make clear a vital point. Any goddess may be styled 'the Queen'; and the identity of any goddess who is so described can only be discovered when we know the speaker, his audience, his city, his context[2].

At Athens there were, of course, worshippers of the Great Mother[3]; and to them on certain occasions Rhea must have been 'the Queen' par excellence. But to the general, to the audience of Aristophanes, if there was any goddess recognisable without comment or explanation under this title,

[1] Diodorus *Bibl.* III. 57.

[2] So *Hera* is Basileia at Cos, Basileis at Argos; see A. B. Cook, *Classical Review*, vol XX. p. 372. It is the lack of context which makes it impossible to determine the identity of the 'Basile' of inscriptions.

[3] *Birds* 875.

that goddess was assuredly not the Great Mother of Phrygia[1].

Is it possible then that the lawful claimant to the hand of Peithetairos is no less a person than Athene herself[2] ?

> ἡ κλῇδας οἶδε δώματος μονὴ θεῶν
> ἐν ᾧ κεραυνός ἐστιν ἐσφραγισμένος.

It is a tempting conjecture, but Peithetairos refers to Athene without apparently suspecting that it is to her hand that he aspires. Moreover, at Athens not even Athene is 'the Queen' par excellence. The 'Queens' among goddesses here are Kore, queen of Hades, and her mother, of Eleusis. Yet there is no hint in the *Birds* that the Basileia is really meant to suggest one of the august ladies of the mysteries.

Nor can we cut the knot by calling Basileia a 'personification of the supreme power of Zeus[3].' If we assume, what is very doubtful, that an Athenian poet would personify the sovereignty of Zeus as a woman, it is incredible that he should call her *Βασίλεια*. The last syllable of the name is short ; and no printing of the correct accent will avail unless we are prepared to accept the consequences, and to take the meaning of the word we print. *Βασίλεια* is a queen : *Βασιλεία* is, if we like, sovereignty. We have to do with *Βασίλεια*, and we must keep 'Miss Sovereignty' severely out of court.

[1] In spite of Dr Verrall's delightful extravaganza on the *Birds* as a travesty of oriental religions.

[2] Wieseler. *See* Blaydes on ll. 1536–7.

[3] This is the popular view at present. *See*, e.g., Rogers, Croiset (who mentions, happily only to reject it, a theory that that last scene is a defence of monarchic government !), Deschanel (who calls her Royauté), Roscher's *Lexicon*.

Our conjectures about heavenly personages leave us bankrupt. We have here no well-known figure of Greek mythology; no thinly-veiled Athene, Athanasia; not even a personification of the royalty of Zeus. In despair we reiterate the final silliness of the puzzled scholiast. 'The poet represents Basileia in bodily shape as a woman.' She is indeed, as Mr Rogers says, 'a purely ideal being,' but what in the heavenly world she represents is more than we or probably anyone in the audience at Athens can tell. Let us turn from the heavenly world of the mythological dictionaries, and consider the minds of the Athenian spectators.

To the Athenian the solemnity of the final scene must have suggested a sacred marriage, one of those representations in ritual of a divine union which were frequent in the Athenian as in all pagan cults. There is no reference to the mystical marriage of the corn spirit of Eleusis: that was an autumn festival, and our play was produced at the Great Dionysia in March. There is clear reference, a hymn of praise, to the sacred marriage of Zeus and Hera. But there was yet another sacred marriage which occurred only a few weeks before the Great Dionysia, the marriage of Dionysus, the central and most sacred act of the Anthesteria; *and the bride on this occasion was the Queen*,—the wife of the Athenian Βασιλεύς. The month of the first festival of Dionysus was Gamelion, the month of the marriage of Hera and Zeus[1]: the month of

[1] If we admit Nilsson's contention that the name of the month, *Gamelion*, implies no more than that it was the month sacred to marriages,—specially appropriate for getting married in,—we still have to ask, '*Why* was this the marriage month?' And the most plausible answer seems to be that it was the month in which the sacred marriage of the Olympians was celebrated.

the second festival was Anthesterion, the month of the marriage of Dionysus and the Basilissa. Here, in the third great festival, Aristophanes, half seriously, half humorously, creates yet another sacred bridal. Is it not possible that he will refer by some words or by some symbol to the marriage of the god in whose honour he is producing his comedy? The natural consummation of his story is a marriage of a deified mortal with a goddess: surely the ceremonies with which this marriage is performed will recall the union of the god himself with a mortal woman who is thus invested with a sort of divinity. That union *is* recalled by the creation of Basileia. As Peithetairos wielding the thunder-bolt clearly reminds the audience of the Olympian marriage, Zeus and Hera, celebrated two months ago, so his bride, by her name Basileia, recalls the more recent festival of the marriage of the mortal Queen and the god Dionysus.

That the Athenian woman is called the Basilissa, not the Basileia, need not trouble us. Comedy does not take religious ceremonies and reproduce them detail for detail, person for person, on the stage. It obtains its religious effects by suggestion not by reproduction. That is why the ceremonies of the Mystae in the *Frogs* have puzzled scholars. Not even Aristophanes would have ventured to represent in the manner of Mr Tree or of some more accurate archaeologist the sacred procession of Iacchus to Eleusis. So here, had Aristophanes called his imaginary goddess by the name of the Athenian functionary, he would have been impious. He would also have defeated his own purpose: for the drama requires a goddess condescending to mate

with a mortal. Basilissa would have been a mortal woman, honoured with the hand of Peithetairos-Zeus : Basileia is a goddess, honouring Peithetairos with her hand, *suggesting* only the mortal woman who is honoured above all other women by the god of Comedy.

The suggestion would, I think, be plain enough. Basileia is the normal Greek word for 'queen': Basilissa is the Attic form, Basileia the Hellenic[1]. And the Basilissa is a sufficiently eminent person to be recalled by the name Basileia, even if there were no mention of a marriage to make the reference obvious. She was the most important woman in Athens and her most important function was the marriage with Dionysus. For the importance of women in Athenian public life was wholly religious[2], and she was at the head of the women in religion just as her husband, the Βασιλεύς, was at the head of the men. *τῷ γὰρ λαχόντι Βασιλεῖ φασὶ τῇδε τὰ σεμνότατα καὶ μάλιστα πάτρια τῶν ἀρχαίων θυσιῶν ἀποδεδόσθαι*[3]. So eminent in Athenian religion were the King and Queen that Mr A. B. Cook has found in the central scene of the Parthenon frieze a representation of their enthronement and apotheosis[4]. The husband, as the head of the State worship, is the steward of the moneys of the gods : under democracy it is true that he is 'assisted' by

[1] If my theory is correct the disputed title Basilinna, which is sometimes given her, receives some support from the chatter of the Triballian god, line 1678—*μεγάλα Βασιλιναῦ ὄρνιτο παραδίδωμι.*

[2] Cf. Couat, *Aristophane et l'ancienne comédie attique*, p. 218, who refers to *Lysistrata* 638 sq.

[3] Plato, *Politicus* 290 E.

[4] *Classical Review*, vol. XVIII. (1904), p. 371. Mr Cook's suggestion was pointed out to me by my friend Mr G. S. Fry.

boards of *ταμίαι*: but he retains at least the honours of chief steward if he has not the actual power. Are we not justified in assuming that the Basilissa in her sphere is also *ταμία*? And does not this consideration add point to the words of Prometheus about the heavenly housekeeper? The sceptre again, of which so much talk is made in the *Birds*, is illustrated by a beautiful vase-painting of the Basilissa[1], enthroned as bride of Dionysus, with sceptre in her hand. It is possible indeed that if we knew more of the early history of the Kings of Athens we should find that Aristophanes has all unwittingly confronted us with what is archaeologically true when he makes the Basileia the important person in the marriage. Perhaps, like Hermotrude[2], the Athenian Queen was originally 'indeed a queen, and, but that her sex gainsaid it, might be deemed a king; nay, whomsoever she thought worthy of her bed was at once a king, and she yielded her kingdom with herself. Thus her sceptre and her hand went together.' Whatever her ancient history, however, at the time of the *Birds* the Basilissa was the greatest of Athenian women in the civic ritual; and her greatest rite was a marriage with Dionysus, performed only a few weeks before our play. Is it possible that the Athenian audience could see on the stage of Dionysus, the sacred marriage of a 'purely ideal being' Basileia, without being reminded of the bride of Dionysus, their own Basilissa?

[1] British Museum Exhibition of Greek and Roman life, Case 94, No. 45—like the scene in the *Birds*, this picture is full of winged fancy—a winged Nike for bridesmaid, two winged loves bringing gifts.

[2] Saxo Grammaticus, quoted by Frazer, *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*, p. 242.

Of the ritual we know little enough. But something, happily, has come down to us, caught in the tangles of Neaera's hair. Neaera was a Corinthian lady of doubtful reputation, who in the course of a variegated career won the affections of an Athenian gentleman. So enamoured was he that he passed off her children as his own, and as the children of an Athenian mother. One of them was married, with this understanding, to a respectable Athenian of moderate means, simple of course and inexperienced in affairs. This respectable person became basileus : his wife performed the most solemn of all rites, and then turned out to be the daughter of Corinthian Neaera ! It is to this pretty combination of circumstances that we owe much of our information about the Basilissa[1]. Two points may here be mentioned.

In the first place the Queen is attended by matrons of honour—the Gerarai, fourteen of them, as we learn from Hesychius, like the Basilissa, all of pure Athenian blood[2]. Secondly, she is also attended by a Hierokerux, who plays a part in the ceremonies before the marriage. He 'serves the wife of the basileus when she gives the oath to the Gerarai in (the rite of) the baskets at the altar before touching the *ἱερὰ*.' For the gerarai we look in vain in Aristo-

[1] Especially (Demosthenes) *Neaera* 73. The other authorities are cited by Miss J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, by Dr Frazer, *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*, and by the mythological lexicons. The best collection of the texts is Nilsson, *De Dionysiis Atticis*.

[2] The whole speech against Neaera is a good commentary on the importance attached to the Athenian birth of the Basilissa. Perhaps this feeling gives additional point to the numerous jests at alien citizens which occur in this context, 1652, 1681–2, 1700.

phanes. It is no more than a conjecture that if we could witness the procession we should find Basileia accompanied by fourteen handmaidens. There can be little doubt that, like other brides, she would have bridesmaids of some sort : and since we are considering the procession of a Dionysiac drama it would not surprise us if these bridesmaids carried golden baskets. It was to Dionysiac celebrations that *κανήφοροι* were pre-eminently suitable : and the phrase *ἐν κανοῖς* in the speech against Neaera reminds us that although assuredly all *κανήφοροι* were not *γεραραί*, yet all *γεραραὶ* were certainly *κανήφοροι*. The fourteen bridesmaids are, however, purely conjectural. Still it would give an added point to the exit of Prometheus, if there were real *κανήφοροι* to appear in the splendid sequel.

About the sacred herald there is less doubt. He is represented in the *Birds* by the Messenger whose brilliant rhesis opens the marriage solemnities.

This speech, with its lofty tone—explained by commentators as a parody of tragedy—is just such a speech as might be suggested by, and might in its turn suggest, the utterance of the sacred herald announcing to the crowd of worshippers the coming of Dionysus and his Queen bride,

> *προσέρχεται γὰρ οἷος οὔτε παμφαὴς*
> *ἀστὴρ ἰδεῖν ἔλαμψε χρυσαυγεῖ δόμῳ—*
>
> . . . .
>
> *ὀσμὴ δ' ἀνωνόμαστος ἐς βάθος κύκλου*
> *χωρεῖ, καλὸν θέαμα· θυμιαμάτων δ'*
> *αὖραι διαψαίρουσι πλεκτάνην καπνοῦ.*

It is the god, Dionysus himself, who is ap-

proaching. The incense is a familiar feature of such ceremonies[1], so is the image of the star;

> *ὁδὶ δὲ καὐτός ἐστιν. ἀλλὰ χρὴ θεᾶς*
> *Μούσης ἀνοίγειν ἱερὸν εὔφημον στόμα.*

The chorus respond in words which are, as is well known, a variant of the formula which cries 'make way for the god' in the Ithyphallic worship of Dionysus,

> *ἀνάγετ', εὐρυχωρίαν*
> *ποιεῖτε τῷ θεῷ.*
> *ἐθέλει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς...*
> *διὰ μέσου βαδίζειν*[2].

Peithetairos is no longer the amusing adventurer: he is Peithetairos, Zeus, Dionysus. So he is never again referred to by name. He is *αὐτὸς*, *ὅδε*; and it is often impossible to say that there is a clear grammatical distinction between him and the real Zeus[3]. The note of the scholiast on '*ὀμβροφόροι θ' ἅμα βρονταὶ αἷς ὅδε νῦν χθόνα σείει*' shows this confusion '*ὁ Ζεὺς δηλονότι ἢ ὁ Πεισθέταιρος λαβὼν τὴν Βασίλειαν*': and there is more sense in the apparent folly of this comment than in Dindorf's pious interpretation of the final *δαιμόνων ὑπέρτατε* 'non ad Peisthetairum qui cum Jove comparetur, sed ad ipsum Jovem referendum nunc puto.' We may remember also that Dionysus Bromios too has his underground thunders, also fertilising, *ὀμβροφόροι*.

But we must return to our Athenian Queen. Whom did she represent when she married Dionysus?

[1] Frazer, *Adonis, Attis and Osiris*, pp. 7, 129, 259. Cf. also pp. 157–8. From what we know of the ritual of such marriages elsewhere (at Argos, Cos), we should be tempted to cover the *γαμικὴν χλανίδα* of Peithetairos with a pattern of flowers.

[2] Quoted by Mr Rogers who adds 'this gives the exact meaning of the present passage.'

[3] This religious vagueness is also the explanation of the vexed phrase *ἐς πέδον Διός*.

Not assuredly, simply Ariadne, or Core, or any other of the brides of Dionysus : not simply even the Athenian people. All these she represented no doubt : but also all other brides of the spirit of fertility, our own May queen among them. She is the queen of the spring and can not be limited by one personality ; she is the female element in the *κοινωνία τῶν θείων αἰτίων*, in which it matters not whether the partners be called Hera and Zeus, Hera and Heracles, Ouranos and Ge, Cronos and Rhea, Zeus and Demeter, Ariadne and Bacchus—even Peithetairos and Basileia : she is, though a mortal woman, yet also a great goddess *πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφὴ μία*. The Protean transformations through which the commentators have made Basileia, her dramatic counterpart, pass, befit her nature, and show how well she played her rôle. That Basileia has been caught in her true shape at last would be a bold assertion. But perhaps enough has been said to show a probability that the marriage is meant to be religious, that her personality cannot be explained by reference to any well-known Queen among the Olympians,—that, in fact, her name and her destiny—created only to be wed—are likely to have reminded the audience of the bride of Dionysus, the Queen of Athens. Peithetairos, on this hypothesis, recalls to the audience Zeus, with a touch of Dionysus. Basileia recalls the Basilissa, not without a touch of Hera. The whole scene is at once a reminder of two brilliant functions of Athenian ritual, and, in itself, to the superstitious an effectual ceremony for the prosperity of Athens and the fertilising of the crops.

J. T. Sheppard.

GREEK PLAYS PERFORMED AT CAMBRIDGE

δριμὺ γέρον, μύθων καίν' ἐγχειρητὰ παλαιῶν,
  πάντοθεν Ἕλληνες σοὶ χάριν ἐννέπομεν·
εἷς γὰρ ἀνὴρ Διονυσιακῶς σύ γε πλεῖστον ἔδρασας,
  εἷς Ἀκαδημείᾳ τῇδε τοσαῦτα πορῶν
δράματ', Ἀθηναίοις ὧν δαιμόνιοι παρέθηκαν,
  μυριετοῦς ἀφ' ὕπνου πρὸς βίον ἀγκαλέσας.
Εὐμενίσιν δ' ἀπέδωκας ὄφεις, Ἀγαμέμνονί τ' αὐγήν,
  θαῦμ' ἠλεκτροφαές, καὶ πάθος Οἰδίποδι·
Ὄρνισιν πτέρυγας Παρίοις παμμήχανος εὗρες,
  Σφηξί τε κέντρ', οἵων ἵετ' Ἀριστοφάνης.
ταῦτα θεασάμενος ξεῖνός τ' ἀστός τέ σ' ἐπαινεῖ
  σήμερον, ὅστις ἔχει μουσοφιλῆ ξύνεσιν.

During the last seven and twenty years ten Greek plays have been performed by members of the University of Cambridge. Six of the plays (the *Ajax* in 1882, the *Birds* in 1883, the *Eumenides* in 1885, the *Oedipus Tyrannus* in 1887, the *Ion* in 1890, and the *Iphigenia in Tauris* in 1894) were presented in the old theatre (sometime known as St Andrew's Hall), which, for all its dissimilarity to the conventional curves of a Greek auditorium, yet possessed certain adaptabilities for the special needs of such performances. In the New Theatre, built in 1895,

four plays have been given—the *Wasps* in 1897, the *Agamemnon* in 1900, the *Birds* in 1903, and the *Eumenides* in 1906.

Now although you, Sir, have not actually stage-managed them all, in the technical sense, you have been, if I may so say, stage-father of the family. The Greek Play Committee, which has had three Greek Professors (B. H. Kennedy, R. C. Jebb, and Henry Jackson) as its successive Presidents, knows none other Treasurer and Secretary but you.

By the nature of things the plays have represented a compromise, dramatic and musical. And if the Committee of 1882 were surprisingly bold in their treatment of the *Ajax*, they were as surprisingly successful. You, Sir, have related elsewhere[1], for the benefit of readers English and French, how the play came to be selected, how you all went to work, and how Dr Waldstein, as stage-manager, was quick to see the best chances of combining the necessary elements of archaeological accuracy and of a modern *mise-en-scène*. The incidental music came appropriately from the pen of Sir G. A. Macfarren, then Professor of Music ; the scenery, for this and other plays, from the skilful brush of Mr J. O'Connor. Of the *Tecmessa* of Mr Macklin you have declared that it was 'one of the most remarkable impersonations' you had ever witnessed ; Mr J. K. Stephen more than fulfilled anticipations in his powerful rendering of *Ajax* ; and as *Teucer* Mr H. C. Cust admirably sustained the concluding scene of the

[1] In *Amateur Clubs and Actors*, edited by W. G. Elliot (1898) : in *Le Théâtre*, June 1899 : in the *Cambridge Review*, 'Agamemnon' number, 15 November, 1900.

play. One of the Chorus was Mr Arthur Somervell, a master in English music to-day. Contemporary criticism was not unkind; and the performance was a financial success, for it yielded a substantial sum to form the nucleus of a reserve fund.

Next year, the *Birds*, another unmistakable success, for which the music of Mr (now Sir) Hubert Parry was in great measure responsible. The part of *Peithetairos* was given to Mr M. R. James (now Provost of King's), who bore the burden of the play with admirable ease and skill: and the quaint antics of the *Birds* themselves never failed to keep the house in merry mood. Mr A. C. Benson played the part of the *Priest*: and both in this play and in the next Mr Stanley M. Leathes (now a Civil Service Commissioner) proved himself a skilful and sympathetic κορυφαῖος. The *Eumenides* (1885) presented difficulties which taxed the powers of the Committee to the utmost. But, with good actors available—among them Miss J. E. Case, a student of Girton College, who played *Athena*—and with noble music composed by Mr (now Sir) Charles Villiers Stanford, and rendered by a Chorus who really caught the pity and the terror of it all, the play made a most profound impression. Not less impressive was the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, two years later, with Mr J. H. G. Randolph (now Bishop of Guildford) in the title *rôle*—a performance that remains indelibly fixed in many a mind—Mr C. Platts (already distinguished as the *Shade of Clytaemnestra*) as *Jocasta*, and a strong cast that included those whom we know to-day as the Provost of King's,

the Head Master of Repton (the Rev. L. G. B. J. Ford), and the General Secretary of the Post Office (Sir H. Babington Smith). Sir Charles Stanford's music added much to the majesty and the pathos of the representation.

Euripides has met with the least appreciation from Cambridge audiences. It may be that the plays chosen—the *Ion* (1890) and the *Iphigenia in Tauris* (1894)—were not the most suitable for the purpose: or that the simpler plots of Aeschylus and Sophocles appealed more directly both to the players themselves and to audiences uninterested, for the most part, in the subtleties of Attic argument and the 'higher criticism' of Attic theology. In the music written for the two plays Dr Charles Wood proved himself more than capable of sustaining the high tradition of his predecessors. Mr R. Geikie's *Iphigenia* was a careful and a sympathetic study: and there are those who remember that Mr W. Runciman (now President of the Board of Education) made a dumb but very graceful maiden in the *Ion*.

In all the six plays above-mentioned a lower stage, projecting for a few feet into the auditorium, had been provided for the Chorus: and, though it left but too scanty room for evolutions, it gave opportunities of effective grouping of which advantage had been duly taken. In the performance of the *Wasps*, the first of the Greek plays in the New Theatre, the chorus-stage was abandoned, to be tried again, but without success, in the *Agamemnon*.

From the early-morning scene on which the curtain rose, to the final 'exeunt dancing,' the *Wasps*

amused our audiences : and the trial of the offending dog, whose live puppies were introduced *ad misericordiam*, never failed to bring down the house. The music was composed by Mr T. Tertius Noble. Mr Reginald Balfour played *Bdelycleon* excellently; Mr S. R. Fry's *Philocleon* was a good piece of comedy; Mr J. B. Dyne, as *Xanthias*, was a smart and most amusing slave ; and Mr Godfrey Evans, as the chief Wasp, danced the Chorus and the audience into a splendid enthusiasm.

The *Agamemnon*, played in 1900, was a stupendous task. It was given without 'cuts,' which means that music had to be provided for some six hundred and sixty lines, for the first Chorus alone exceeds two hundred, the second and third are both above one hundred. One could not but feel that the strain was almost too great, for singers and for listeners alike, though much of the music—was it not Sir Hubert Parry's?—was full of dramatic declamation and poignant pathos. The *Cassandra* of Mr J. F. Crace will be the best-remembered part of this performance: and the *Clytaemnestra* of Mr F. H. Lucas was of considerable merit. The beacon-scene which introduces the play was a beautiful picture, the work of Mr Hemsley : and the beacon-flash itself was sudden and effective. The Committee received a notable accession of strength at this season in the person of Mr Walter Durnford, whose long experience of Eton Speeches marked him out at once as one of our stage-managers.

In the *Birds* of 1903 we 'revived' ourselves, with eminent success. A new generation was charmed with the whole play, and the theatre was

well filled for all the performances. Mr J. T. Sheppard made a versatile and vigorous *Peisthetairos* (for so our scholars spelt it now), Mr Clive Carey, actor and singer too, an admirable *Owl* to lead the Chorus : and many of the smaller parts were played to perfection.

Lastly, in 1906 we trod once more in our own tracks with a reproduction of the *Eumenides*, in which the chief honours belonged to Mr Carey (*Athena*), Mr A. F. Scholfield (*Orestes*) and Mr M. A. Young (*Leader of the Chorus*). Yet another revival is in store, for in November next the *Wasps* should be buzzing among us again.

Something has been said above of the indebtedness of our Greek plays to the several composers of the incidental music. There is no doubt that the composer is an interpreter of the first importance for a considerable part of a not-too-Greek audience, which may be helped by his music to realise the dramatic unities at the time, and filled with abiding memories for days to come. Certain numbers stand out not to be forgotten ; we may instance the beautiful song of summons and the bridal march in the *Birds* : the weaving of the spell and the processional finale in the *Eumenides* : the march in the *Ion*, and the halcyon-chorus in the *Iphigenia* : and the Marathon-chorus in the *Wasps*. The repetition of the *Birds* in 1903 tempted Sir Hubert Parry to set the famous Parabasis as a sort of patter-song, which was admirably delivered by the Leader of the Chorus and took the house by storm. For the musical training of the Chorus in recent performances Dr Charles Wood has been almost entirely responsible :

and the devotion of the χορευταὶ to their διδάσκαλος was delightfully exhibited on the day after the last performance of the *Iphigenia*, when they gathered in the gallery of the Senate House, and sang his own setting of the final ἴτ' ἐπ' εὐτυχίᾳ of the play to salute him Doctor of Music.

It may not be without interest to state in brief outline here how the Committee proceed to the performance of a play, for in the scenes behind the scenes you, Sir, have often played protagonist, and for the method which experience has taught us to adopt you are in no mean part responsible. A year perhaps before the performance is due (the plays are given at the end of November), there is a meeting to discuss what shall be attempted. This is no easy problem, for many of the Attic masterpieces cannot be set to suit our stage, and what reads well to scholars will not always play well to modern audiences. The play chosen, and an acting edition prepared, by 'cuts' as extensive as the patience or the propriety of the present day necessitates, a composer of the music is next to seek. And fortunate is he, if someone is impressed, or volunteers, to help him in the bewilderment which he may feel at first among strophes and antistrophes, epodes and anapaests, and to provide the music with a singable English rendering for the benefit of those, who, in the Chorus itself or in choral societies afterwards, know less of Greek than of music.

Actors and Chorus are chosen provisionally, before the May Term ends. Then, while the University sleeps for three months, forgetful of Greek plays as of everything else, you, Sir, are wide

awake. You have thought out the scenery, and given to Mr O'Connor, to Mr Hemsley or to his equally skilful son, the instructions which in due course disclose to our wondering eyes the Palace Beautiful, the Lion Gate, the Acropolis, the Areopagus, Cloud-cuckoo-town, or what you will. You have investigated the minutest details of the 'properties' our play will need: you have discussed dresses with artists male and female, turning your drawing-room into a temporary *atelier de théâtre*, and, if birds or wasps are in the bill, you have made provision for their winging and stinging. Yours is not the complacent and comfortable text of the amateur, 'It will be all right on the night'; for you, nothing must be left to chance, nothing allowed to hinder the players in the development of those abilities which are the frequent joy and surprise of these performances.

In the daily rehearsals upon the A.D.C. stage —for there, by the kindness of the Club, our forces are trained—during the first five or six weeks of the Michaelmas Term which ends with the play, you have proved yourself the most patient and polite, yet withal the most critical and uncompromising, of stage-managers. Many a soliloquy has emerged into proper significance after you have spent an indefatigable hour or two upon the soliloquizer! He may not have liked it at the time: but he remembers his debt when he holds the audience by the effect which you knew—and told him—he must produce. It is a tradition with us that female characters are played, as in Attic days, by men: and it is within your power to impart a something of femininity to im-

personations that had otherwise incurred unkind criticisms from the other sex. Again and again some spontaneous, instantaneous suggestion of yours has put a halting scene to rights, or given the tragic or the comic its true sense.

And when at last we occupy the Theatre, *ὡς δεινὸν ἡ φιλοχωρία.* Stage-carpenters and scene-shifters are yours to command: and we have known you wield a hammer yourself with no uncertain sound (and paralyse a conductor's agonised efforts to get his orchestra into shape) when a Thymele was behindhand in its dressing. You can prompt: you can set a *χιτών*, you can buckle a *χλαμύς*, and drape a *ἱμάτιον*, as quickly and as correctly as the best of us: you can revivify a protagonist who is despondent, or blanket off to bed a priestess who is barely free from influenza. As our Euelpides the Second (Mr O. L. Richmond) has said of you,

> 'First unto J. be praise, the Grand Old Man
> Of histrionics Cantabrigian.
> You scarce would guess, so youthful is his age,
> That he prepared the Ajax for the stage;
> That in the hut, before the days of Tree,
> He dressed the Birds of 1883.
> 'Tis ours to thank him in no halting strain,
> Who dressed us all, undressed, and dressed again.'

Those were happy and memorable days in the Easter Vacation of 1903, when you, Sir, and I prepared ourselves for a revival of the *Birds* by a visit, brief but brimful of interest, to Athens and Epidaurus. With characteristic thoroughness you put the acoustics of each great theatre to the test, by declaiming some well-known passage from the stage

while your fellow-traveller sat far away and above in the topmost tier of seats, and heard every word.

Only those who have taken part in the production of a Greek play can really appreciate the peculiar magnetism of its influence. The stage-managers, it may be presumed, have formed some conception, before the final stages of rehearsal are reached, of the dramatic effects that may be attained: but their anticipations are often exceeded, and their pre-conceptions corrected, by the growing influence of the play upon the cast itself. For there are psychological moments, in the preparation of every play, when everybody (with the exception of a very few case-hardened creatures) is touched by the spirit of a particular drama. 'Supers,' more remarkable perhaps for athletic than for academic excellence, have been enthralled till they refuse to lose a line of the performances: actors, beginning with a certain sense of oppression at the difficulty of their task, have yielded sooner or later to its fascination, and become valuable interpreters in their turn to audiences ready to be interested but not to be inspired. Thus bound by the ties of common study and common endeavour, and by a splendid spirit of self-sacrifice, each successive cast becomes a community, scarcely conscious for the time being of other claims. Conventional work and play may have suffered a little sometimes: but the recollections of a supreme enthusiasm are more than compensation. Ask anyone who has been a member of a Greek play cast, when you meet him casually a few years afterwards, whether he remembers this or that, and

his eyes will generally flash with a renewal of the old fire.

And so the Greek plays have become a traditional element of our academic existence, triennial Dionysia which bring together interested and interesting audiences. There are residents, graduate and undergraduate, some so keen that they come night after night with increasing zest, some so listless that they find a single performance, seen as in public or private duty bound, tiresome and tedious ; there are leaders in learning and literature, arts or society, from the world outside ; there are old actors, *χορευταί*, and 'supers,' glad enough to come and see others try as they have tried ; there are groups of sixth-form boys, sent to learn what the stage can do for the play they have been reading ; and there are many ladies—devout Classics, adorable barbarians, and honest playgoers. And what the papers say of each production, is it not gathered in the recording albums which belong to the Registrary of the Greek Play Committee ?

H. J. Edwards.

THE 'A. D. C.'

The following brief account needs a word of explanation by way of preface. Among Mr J. W. Clark's many and varied interests the drama has always occupied an important place, and it was generally felt that a volume like the present ought to contain some allusion to the study of the dramatic art in the University of Cambridge, the development of which owes so much to his initiative and support. Elsewhere an account is given of the Greek Play: the present contribution is concerned with another institution which, though it deals with the dramatic productions of these latter days, is nevertheless the senior exponent of the art—the 'A. D. C.'

The history of the 'A. D. C.' still remains to be written. The present attempt does not pretend to any such ambitious title, and aims only at giving an outline of the development of the Club during the period in which Mr Clark was most intimately connected with it—a period, it may be noted, which synchronises almost exactly with the whole term of its existence. It is neither complete nor exhaustive, and some of the most important of the Club's records were unfortunately not available for the purpose. I am, however, indebted to several past members for valuable help and suggestions.

THE 'A. D. C.'

The story of the foundation of the 'A. D. C.' and of the earliest years of its existence has been told by one who was naturally its most appropriate historian—its founder, Sir Francis Burnand. In his *Personal Reminiscences of the 'A. D. C.'*, published in 1879, he has described, in his own inimitable style, how the idea of forming a Dramatic Club in Cambridge was evolved, how he waited upon the Vice-Chancellor, Dr Guest of Gonville and Caius, for the necessary permission to start such a Club, and how, when the necessary permission was withheld, the Club was started without it. Following this, he gives a detailed account of the performances and general proceedings of the Club from its foundation in 1855 until the Lent term in 1864, when his own immediate connection with it came to an end. Upon this period of the Club's history, therefore, it is unnecessary, as it would be impertinent, to encroach.

To the more elaborate ideas of the present generation it may be that the deficiencies of the first home of the 'A. D. C.'—in an upper chamber over a disused stable on the premises of the Hoop Hotel—would have seemed more serious than they did to the founders of the Club, and probably the particular type of burlesque, which prevailed at their performances, is now somewhat out of fashion and would appear strange to a modern audience. Nevertheless these must have been in many ways the great days of the 'A. D. C.' Apart from the superior interest attaching to the work of pioneers, there was much in the conditions of the time which added to the attractions of the new Club. What are known as

"outside interests" were then less numerous and less exacting in their demands, and the undergraduate of the period could give, and did give, more time to this particular sphere of activity. The Club was obliged to some extent to be self-sufficing, and the members performed many of the less romantic functions connected with dramatic productions for which, in these more crowded days, professional assistance is invoked. To the devotion of the first members, in face of discouragement and difficulty, is due the later prosperity of the Club under more favourable conditions.

The year 1861, in which Mr Clark, then a junior fellow of Trinity, became an honorary member, found the 'A. D. C.' in a flourishing condition, but it was nevertheless a somewhat critical time in the history of the Club. In the first place, the point had been reached, serious to all young Clubs in the quickly-changing undergraduate society, when those who had watched over its infant years were obliged to hand on the trust to others. In the case of the 'A. D. C.' the continued existence of the Club was, indeed, never in any danger, partly owing to circumstances about to be noticed, and partly owing to the fidelity of some of its leading members, who continued to lend their assistance in the performances after they had gone out of residence. Sir Francis Burnand went down at the end of the Lent term 1858, but both he and Quintin Twiss continued to appear with greater or less regularity until 1864. This last performance was in *The Critic*, in November of that year, when the former played Puff and the latter Sir Walter Raleigh.

A more serious danger lay in the attitude of the University and College authorities. Even though the first performance had been given without the Vice-Chancellor's permission and in defiance of existing statutes, the University authorities had been content to wink at what they could not publicly recognise, and to condone that in which they found nothing to condemn. At a very early date after the foundation of the Club, the Proctors had paid a visit to the premises, and had intimated that there would be no interference as long as the Club conducted itself with propriety. The advance from the position of a tolerated to that of a recognised institution was very largely due to the great interest which His Majesty the King took in the Club while he was in residence. He was elected an honorary member on May 17th, 1861, and shortly afterwards he became honorary President. On several occasions he was present at the performances given by the Club, attended by a distinguished company from University and County, and this practice led to the institution of what afterwards came to be known as the "County Nights," which were for some years the only performances to which ladies were admitted. As a result the Club emerged from comparative obscurity. In February 1861, the actors played for the first time under their own names, and the picturesque pseudonyms which had hitherto distinguished them were relegated to the past. The bill, on this historic occasion, consisted of Planché's comic drama *Not a Bad Judge*, and a burlesque by M. Williams and F. C. Burnand, entitled *The Fair Maid of Wapping*.

Still, in spite of the progress which had been made, the authorities continued to evince a considerable amount of hostility, and in 1870 they announced their intention of refusing to sanction the Club's further continuance. The moment was a critical one, not perhaps for the existence of the 'A. D. C.', but for its development and future character, and it is not too much to say that the situation was saved by Mr Clark. He paid a personal visit to the Tutors of Colleges, and pointed out that, while it might be possible to discountenance, it would be extremely difficult to suppress an institution which had shown such signs of virility, and that it would be far better to allow the Club to continue under proper sanction and supervision, than to leave it to develop as an illegal and secret society. The Tutors finally accepted this view, and the result was a Concordat. The rules of the Club had been revised in June 1870, and, in the October term in the following year, the Committee accepted nine additional rules from the Tutors as the price of peace.

The most important of these rules were the prohibition of burlesque and the restriction of the performances to the Michaelmas term. The former regulation seems to have been capable of a broad interpretation, since we find that *Bombastes Furioso* was revived in 1874, but the latter was a reality, and with the exception of single performances of short farces at the time of the annual dinner in the Lent term, no Lent or May term performance was given until the relaxation of the rule in 1882.

The former of these two restrictions undoubtedly

had its influence in a change which had already begun to take place in the character of the performances. Roughly speaking, for the first ten years of the Club's existence, burlesque and farce were the rule. *Still Waters run Deep* was given in May 1857 and revived in March 1860, but these ventures upon the more serious drama were exceptions. In bringing about the change from this order, Mr Clark took a considerable share. Mr Albert Bankes, who was President of the Club in 1861—2, writes that the Committee and actors had such confidence "in Mr Clark's theatrical judgment that, before a play was decided upon for a coming performance, the question as to what Mr Clark would think of it was always first mooted. It was also greatly owing to Mr Clark that the undergraduate actors gave up one-act low-comedy farces, and so successfully ventured on three-act dramas and high comedies."

Mr W. G. Elliot, in his account of the 'A. D. C.' in *Amateur Clubs and Actors*, edited by him in 1898, divides the dramatic history of the Club into three "periods," the first of which, described as the "Burlesque and Farce" period, he represents as extending from the foundation of the Club to the year 1866. The transition was, of course, gradual. After *Still Waters run Deep*, in 1857 and 1860, the next serious venture was *Robert Macaire*, by Charles Selby, in November 1863, and this was followed next year by the Club's first presentation of *The Critic*. *The Overland Route* was played in 1866, and after this there is a regular succession of "standard" plays, including *Ruy Blas* (June 1867), *The Rivals* (November 1868), *The School for Scandal* (May 1869),

The Heir at Law (December 1874), *She Stoops to Conquer* (November 1876), and *Money* (November 1877).

Mr Clark's name appears but rarely on the programmes of this period, but, although he was unseen by the audience, the staging of the plays owed very much to his energy and skill. "The entirely new and magnificent scenery" for the performance of *Ruy Blas* in 1867 was, so the programme announced, the work of Mr David Powell and Mr J. W. Clark; and several of the Club's most successful effects of stage-mounting were due to his powers as a scenic artist.

On the occasion of a dinner in the Green Room after the last performance of *She Stoops to Conquer* in 1876, Mr Pulteney proposed that Mr Clark's health should be drunk "with honours, seeing that, for nearly a month before the performance, he had lent his whole time and energy amidst his many and arduous occupations, to bringing to perfection a scene that rivalled the splendour and extravagance of *Ruy Blas*."

On two occasions, Mr Clark appeared in the *rôle* of author. The first was in the Michaelmas term 1870, when he wrote "an entirely new and original adaptation, in four acts, of the celebrated French play, *Le Courrier de Lyon*, under the title of *The Lyons Mail*." A translation of the play was already in existence, but the distinctive characteristic of Mr Clark's adaptation was that the feminine interest, which was an interpolation for dramatic purposes and had no relation to the historical facts on which the play was based, was entirely

omitted. This original feature had especial reference to the limitations of the 'A. D. C.' cast at the time, and is not one which would appeal to an ordinary manager. The new title has, however, been borrowed, and is now invariably prefixed to the older version.

The play was performed for the first time on Tuesday, Nov. 29th, with the following cast:

THE LYONS MAIL.

Jérôme Lesurques (Innkeeper at Lieursaint, near Paris, aged 65)	Mr Compton.
Joseph Lesurques (his son—a wealthy manufacturer at Douai, aged 40) / Dubosq (Captain of a gang of highwaymen	Mr N. Kane.
Didier (betrothed to Joseph Lesurques' daughter, aged 25)	Mr R. K. Hodgson.
Guerneau (College friends of Joseph Lesurques)	Mr A. Higgins.
Lambert (College friends of Joseph Lesurques)	Mr Grey.
Dorval (a Magistrate)	Mr Northcote.
Joliquet (servant to Jérôme Lesurques, aged 17)	Mr H. C. Gardner.
Courriol, "the Dandy" (Members of the Gang)	Mr E. Bray.
Choppard, "the Horse Dealer" (Members of the Gang)	Mr W. H. H. Hay.
Fouinard, "the Philosopher" (Members of the Gang)	Mr N. Hunt.
François (servant to Joseph Lesurques) ...	Mr Pitt-Taylor.
Paul Fouet (Postmaster at Montgiron, near Paris)	Mr Maine.
Aristide (his waiter)	Mr Byas.
Clerk to Dorval	Mr Agnew.
Durochat	Hon. A.T. Lyttelton.

Citizens of Paris, Gendarmes, Waiters, etc. by Messrs Flower, Kellner, etc. etc.

The play has been twice revived at the 'A. D. C.', in the Lent term of 1886 and in the Michaelmas term of 1895. On the former occasion the double *rôle* of Lesurques and Dubosq was taken by Mr

A. P. Williams-Freeman, and on the latter by Mr A. W. Watson.

Mr Clark's first venture as a dramatist was so successful that he was persuaded to write a second play, which was produced in the following May term, under the title of *Peer? or Peasant?* The following was the cast of this "new drama in four acts" as played for the first time on Monday, May 29th, 1871:

PEER? OR PEASANT?

A STORY OF 1685.

Rupert, Lord Gerwood (favourite of King James II, aet. 34)	Mr H. C. Gardner.
Gilbert Leigh (a Devon yeoman)	Mr W. H. Hay.
John Leigh (an old soldier)	Mr W. M. Compton.
Sir William Courtenay	Mr S. N. Kane.
Trevor (his secretary)	Mr E. A. Northcote.
Lord Henry Delamere	Mr A. P. Maudslay.
Sir Thomas Armstrong	Earl Waldegrave.
Mr Charles Ridley...	Mr C. S. Maine.
Eveline Leigh (daughter to John Leigh) ...	Mr Neville.
Messenger from Duke Monmouth ...	Mr W. Follet.
Trooper	Mr W. C. James.
Servant / Sheriff	Mr Mathison.
Jailor	Hon. A. T. Lyttelton.

Courtiers, Soldiers, Prisoners, etc.

Mr Clark himself has been heard to declare that though this work was undoubtedly "new," it could not legitimately be described as "original," for it was in the nature of a pasticcio. The story—a complicated narrative of the adventures of two brothers—was provided with a number of "situations" of approved merit for they had been put to the test by frequent use elsewhere, especially on the

French stage. The actor who was to personate one of the brothers had expressed a desire that the play might provide him with an opportunity "to save somebody and die in the lime-light," and, in obedience to this behest, the author borrowed the last scene of Dumas' *Chevalier de Maison Rouge*, and made his hero save not one but two prisoners, after which the scene changed to a scaffold, where a block, an executioner, and the lime-light were duly provided.

In those days the playgoer got plenty for his money, nor could the patrons of the 'A. D. C.' complain of lack of variety. The performances usually began at 7 o'clock, and must have lasted far into the night, for, to take the last-mentioned occasion as an example, we find that the bill included, besides Mr Clark's four-act drama, a farce by Maddison Morton, entitled *The Steeplechase*, and a burlesque, in five scenes, by F. C. Burnand, entitled *Paris*.

The twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the Club was celebrated in 1880. His Majesty the King presided at the dinner, and the general success of the evening was a fitting conclusion to the preceding period of growth and development, and crowned the Club's firm establishment as a University institution. The occasion has been fully described by Mr W. G. Elliot, and it will not be necessary to dwell upon it here, except to notice an effect which has an important bearing on Mr Clark's connection with the Club.

Financial crises, in a greater or less degree, are natural to the life of all undergraduate clubs and

societies. Frequent changes in the official *personnel*, coupled with casual methods in dealing with money matters, tend to introduce an element of instability into their pecuniary affairs which not infrequently issues in disaster. The past history of the 'A. D. C.' had provided no exception to this teaching of experience, and the Club was no stranger to debts and deficits. Their earliest financial difficulty had been in January 1867, when an ex-President of the Club, Mr Reginald Kelly, was very nearly arrested for debt, at the suit of the creditors of a bankrupt stage-carpenter. The crisis was averted through the kindness of Mr A. F. Sealy of Caius, and the debt—of some £200—was gradually paid off. The crisis of 1880 was not dissimilar. Largely owing to the fact that the anniversary dinner cost practically twice as much as had been estimated, the Club had to face a deficit of £220, and a stormy general meeting was held to discuss the situation. It was decided to raise the required sum by means of increased subscriptions, but the important fact of the meeting was the proposal brought forward by Hon. John Wallop, that the office of Treasurer should in future be occupied by a permanent official. The Committee seem to have regarded this as tantamount to a vote of "no confidence," as indeed it probably was, and they voted against it. The motion, however, was carried, and Mr Clark was elected the first Treasurer under the new *régime*.

The election to this official position naturally brought him into even closer relations with the Club, and from 1880 to 1901, when he resigned

the Treasurership, his influence upon the fortunes of the 'A. D. C.' was intimate and continuous.

The outstanding feature of this period, from the material point of view, is the purchase of the Club premises in 1882. The present Club rooms were originally the property of the Hoop Hotel, and had been utilised at one time as a ball-room, and later as the rooms of the Union Society. For the first five years of its existence, the 'A. D. C.' only occupied that part of the premises which is now used as the Green Room, but in 1860 the Club became the tenant of the remaining rooms, and gave its first performance in the present theatre on March 6th in that year. In 1882, the whole building came into the market and it at once became important for the Club to obtain the freehold, and this was rendered possible by a loan, advanced, through Mr Clark's good offices, by Messrs Mortlock. Six years later, in May 1888, the local authorities insisted upon some structural improvements and the construction of a second exit. As a result of this a fund was instituted, of which the object was stated to be three-fold.

"(1) To re-decorate and re-seat the theatre.

(2) To construct a second exit, and, if possible, to secure a new entrance from Jesus Lane.

(3) To apply any surplus left over, when the above objects have been properly carried out, to the repayment of the loan."

The first object was accomplished ; the gallery, which had been built in 1866, was abolished, and the auditorium was provided with the stiff rows of somewhat uncompromising seats which have quite recently

disappeared. The second exit was constructed, but the "new entrance from Jesus Lane" was not secured and is still a desideratum. The surplus was found insufficient to make any very material difference in the amount of the debt, the reduction of which proceeded—and still proceeds—by slow degrees.

The second of Mr Elliot's "periods"—the "Comedy and Drama" period—closes in 1888, to be succeeded by a time devoted chiefly to modern burlesque, but here again the transition is gradual. The most noteworthy performance, from one point of view, between the years 1880 and 1888 was the production, in November 1886, of *The First Part of King Henry IV*—the Club's solitary venture in Shakespearian drama. The performance was not a success, but it was the audience who failed and not the actors, and the play, which had cost a considerable sum to stage, was given to scanty houses. The occasion, however, is interesting as marking a point of departure.

Tragedy and melodrama have never taken exclusive possession of the 'A. D. C.' stage, and the Club's ventures in this direction were only occasional. Still, besides *Robert Macaire*, they had, at one time or another, produced several plays in the same vein, and *The Ticket of Leave Man* was accounted one of their successes.

It is, however, as true of the 'A. D. C.' as of professional actors that they "who live to please, must please to live," and there was evidence that plays of this type were ceasing to please. The abandonment of Shakespeare is due partly to the same

cause, but chiefly to the more practical difficulty of mounting anything so elaborate on a fifteen-foot stage.

In 1888, then, an important change took place. Some of the recent productions had been financial failures, and it was decided to revert to burlesque, which had practically been banished from the 'A. D. C.' stage since the concordat of 1872. An experiment in this direction had been tried in the May term 1886, when Planché's "extravagant tragedy" of *Medea, or the Golden Fleece* had been given, and for four years, beginning from 1888, burlesque reigned in the May term performances.

In 1888 the Club produced *The Sphinx, a Touch from the Ancients*, by the Brothers Brough; in 1889 *Nydia, or the Very Last Days of Pompeii*, by R. Reece; in 1890 *Der Freyschutz*, by H. J. Byron; and in 1891 *Ivanhoe à la Carte*, by the same author. Then came two years in which comedy was the order, but in 1894 the club returned to burlesque, and produced its most ambitious and most successful effort in *Jupiter, LL.D.* by R. C. Lehmann and Tertius Noble. The performance was an enormous success, but on this occasion the Club rather over-reached itself in the magnificence of the mounting, and successful burlesque was found to be almost as costly as unsuccessful tragedy. *Medea* was revived in 1898, but the zenith of the burlesque period was *Jupiter, LL.D.* Since then modern comedy has prevailed in the May term productions, varied by comedy of the Sheridan school in the Michaelmas term; but though this order of things at the moment seems to be more or less stereotyped, it is unsafe to speculate

as to the future. The character of the performances, as Mr Elliot has pointed out, reflects as a whole the tone and taste of the day, and it may be that under other conditions the days of burlesque, of tragedy and of melodrama will in due course return.

In 1901 Mr Clark resigned the Treasurership and became perpetual Vice-President; but though he ceased to administer the financial affairs of the 'A. D. C.' he has not ceased to interest himself in its well-being. We have spoken of him as scene-painter, author, and administrator, but the capacity in which he is likely to be most gratefully remembered by past and present members of the Club is that of dramatic coach. For a short time in the earlier days it was the custom to employ the services of a professional actor whose name appeared on the programme under the title of "assistant stage manager." Mr John Clarke of the Strand Theatre was the first, and later Mr Coe and Mr Horace Wigan officiated in that capacity. On the whole, however, the policy of the Club has been to remain self-dependent in these matters, and it has been particularly fortunate in the possession of two such admirable amateur coaches as Mr Clark and the present Treasurer, Mr Walter Durnford. Mr Clark's wide knowledge of the English and French stage renders him eminently fitted to give an opinion on all subjects connected with mounting and stage-management, and his advice is especially valuable when the Club essays the works of the older dramatists of the school of Goldsmith and Sheridan. But his interest extends to questions of greater detail, and many an 'A. D. C.' actor's success has been

due to the instruction received from Mr Clark either on the stage itself or in the greater privacy of Scroope House. Only those who have been privileged to benefit by them can fully appreciate the value of these informal rehearsals, with Mr Clark, book in hand, demonstrating the characteristics of the part under consideration, and recalling the mannerisms and "business" of some famous exponent. Particularly has his attention been given to what must always be a difficulty in 'A. D. C.' productions—the rendering of the "ladies" parts, and those details of feminine deportment which are liable to escape the notice of the uncritical eye. Under his auspices successive Lady Teazles have been brought up in the way that they should go and Miss Hardcastles instructed how they should stoop to conquer.

Mr Clark's influence is not to be looked for in written records, for it has always been quiet and unassuming. Its strength will be found in the recollection of those who have known him and its success in the life and prosperity of the Club.

G. B. Tatham.

To J. W. CLARK

Friend, whose familiar name is as a spell
 To conjure with, to charm the years away,
How shall we praise you, thank you, wish you well,
 On this thrice-honoured day?

What most admire of all your varied parts?
 The lore so surely won, so gaily worn,
Your classic mastery of modern arts,
 Your toil so lightly borne?

Scribe of our earliest records, and our last,
 Foremost the academic fray to wage,
Master of all our legendary past,
 Lord of our mimic stage!

Swift to forgive, of courage ne'er bereft,
 Serenely active, resolutely gay,
Whatever cares have vexed you, they have left
 Few shadows on your way.

Not less akin to nature than to art,
 Life has no rest, no halting-place for you;
Gracious and apt to win the youngest heart
 Yet keep the oldest true!

TO J. W. CLARK

Largely you give of all that most endears,
  Good-fellowship, and mirth, and wholesome joy;
They keep you still, for all your strenuous years,
    High-hearted as a boy!

Receive our gifts, frail flowers for you entwined,
  Whate'er they have of worth, whate'er of art,
They win their colour from the thankful mind,
    Their fragrance from the heart.

You have been faithful, you have loved the best,
  Your memory shall endure, while love endures;
Your joy is ours to-day, your name is blest
    And blest for being yours!

A. C. Benson.

A SHORT BIBLIOGRAPHY OF J. W. CLARK

1857

A Long Vacation Ramble in Norway and Sweden. By X and Y, (two unknown quantities). Cambridge.

By J. W. Clark and J. W. Dunning.

Annals of the Church of S. Mary the Less, Cambridge. A Paper read before the Cambridge Architectural Society, March 19. *Ecclesiologist*, October.

1858

On the Churches in the Island of Gottland. *Ecclesiologist*, June, August.

1860

Annals of All Saints' Church, Cambridge. A Paper read before the Cambridge Architectural Society, March 8. *Ecclesiologist*, April.

1861

Journal of a yacht voyage to the Faroe Islands and Iceland.

Included in *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in* 1860. Ed. by F. Galton. Cambridge. London.

1870

The Lyons Mail. A drama in four acts freely adapted [by J. W. Clark] from Le Courrier de Lyon for performance at the A.D.C., Cambridge, November 1870. London.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1871

Peer? or Peasant? A story of 1685. A drama in four acts [by J. W. Clark] written for performance at the A.D.C., Cambridge, May 29, 1871. Cambridge.

On the skeleton of a Narwhal (*Monodon Monoceros*) with two fully developed tusks. *Proc. Zoological Soc. of London*, January 17.

1872

Notes on the visceral anatomy of the Hippopotamus. *Proc. Zoological Soc. of London*, February 20.

The Dramatic Season, French and English. *Academy*, August 15.

1873

On the eared Seals of the Auckland Islands. *Proc. Zoological Soc. of London*, November 18.

On a skull of a Marten from Burwell Fen, Cambridgeshire. *Proc. Zoological Soc. of London*, December 2.

1875

The late Professor Willis. *Cambridge Chronicle*, March 6.

A Description of the Medrâsen in Algeria. *C.A.S.*[1], November 8.

Sea-Lions. *Contemporary Review*, December.

On the eared Seals of the islands of St Paul and Amsterdam, with a description of the Fur-Seal of New Zealand, and an attempt to distinguish and rearrange the New Zealand *Otariidæ*. *Proc. Zoological Soc. of London*, December 7.

1876

Notes on a Dolphin taken off the coast of Norfolk. *Proc. Zoological Soc. of London*, June 20.

1878

Notes on three stuffed specimens of the Sea-lion of the Pribilov Islands (*Otaria ursina*). *Proc. Zoological Soc. of London*, March 19.

[1] *C.A.S.* followed by a date refers to 'Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, with Communications made to the Society.'

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1879

History of the Peal of Bells belonging to King's College, Cambridge. *C.A.S.*, March 3.

On the old Provost's Lodge of King's College, with special reference to the furniture. *C.A.S.*, March 17.

"Ruy Blas" at the Théâtre Français. *Academy*, April 19.

History of the Church of S. John Baptist, Cambridge; commonly called S. John Zachary. *C.A.S.*, December 1.

1880

Historia Collegii Corporis Christi. By John Josselin. Ed. by J. W. Clark. *C.A.S.*, 8° Publ., 17.

1881

Cambridge. Brief historical and descriptive notes. London.

Reissued in 1890, 1908.

Cambridge and its neighbourhood. Drawn and etched by Robert Farren. Cambridge.

With an introduction by J. W. Clark.

Our old Trees. *Cambridge Review*, October 26.

1882

Half a Century of Cambridge Life. *Church Quarterly Review*, April.

1883

Bishop Thirlwall. *Church Quarterly Review*, April.

Note on the Tomb (in Westminster Abbey) of Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby, Mother of King Henry VII. *C.A.S.*, May 7.

Edward Henry Palmer. *Church Quarterly Review*, October.

1884

On a Sea-Lion from the East Coast of Australia (*Otaria Cinerea*, Péron). *Proc. Zoological Soc. of London*, March 18.

Catalogue of the First Exhibition of the University and College Portraits held in the Fitzwilliam Museum, May 1884. Cambridge.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1885

Catalogue of the Second Exhibition of the University and College Portraits held in the Fitzwilliam Museum, May 1885. Cambridge.

1886

The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge, and of the Colleges of Cambridge and Eton. By the late Robert Willis, M.A., F.R.S. Edited with large additions and brought up to the present time by John Willis Clark, M.A. 4 vols. Cambridge.

Ancient Wood and Iron Work in Cambridge. By W. B. Redfarn. The Letterpress by John Willis Clark. Cambridge.

Issued in 7 parts between 1881 and 1886.

1888

Coutts Trotter. In Memoriam. By Michael Foster, John Willis Clark, and Sedley Taylor. Cambridge.

Notes on a Fire-place lately discovered in the Master's Lodge, Christ's College. *C.A.S.*, March 5.

The Great Flood. *Church Quarterly Review*, October.

1889

On the skeleton of *Rhytina gigas* lately acquired for the Museum of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy. *Proc. Camb. Philosophical Soc.*, February 25.

1890

The Life and Letters of Adam Sedgwick. By J. W. Clark and T. McKenny Hughes. 2 vols. Cambridge.

Description of a bird's-eye View of Clare Hall, 1714. *C.A.S.*, November 19.

On the Canopy carried over Queen Elizabeth when she visited Cambridge, 1564. *C.A.S.*, November 19.

1891

The foundation and early years of the Cambridge Philosophical Society. An address delivered by J. W. Clark, President, on resigning office, 27 October 1890. *Proc. Camb. Philosophical Soc.*

An attempt to trace the architectural history and plan of... Barnwell Priory, Cambridge. *C.A.S.*, Feb. 18.

Lord Houghton. *Church Quarterly Review*, July.

On Libraries at Cesena, Wells, Guildford, and Clare College, Cambridge. *C.A.S.*, October 26, November 11.

On some fragments of seventeenth century bookcases at Clare College. *C.A.S.*, November 11.

1892

Letters Patent of Elizabeth and James I, addressed to the University of Cambridge, with other documents. Edited with translation of the Letters of Elizabeth by J. W. Clark. Cambridge.

1893

Guildford Grammar School Library. *Surrey Times*, December 30.

1894

Libraries in the Medieval and Renaissance periods. Rede Lecture, 1894. Cambridge.

On Libraries at Christ Church, Canterbury; Citeaux, Clairvaux; Zutphen, Enkhuizen. *C.A.S.*, May 7.

1895

On Libraries at Lincoln Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, St Paul's Cathedral, London. *C.A.S.*, February 18.

Sir Richard Owen. *Church Quarterly Review*, July.

The Lyons Mail. A drama in four acts freely adapted [by J. W. Clark] from Le Courrier de Lyon for performance at the A.D.C., Cambridge, November 1895. Cambridge.

Revised and enlarged from the edition of 1870.

Stranger than Fiction. [On the plot of *The Lyons Mail.*] *Cambridge Review*, November 14.

1896

The Trinity Building Scheme. *Granta*, November 28.

1897

Cambridge described and illustrated. By Thomas Dinham Atkinson. With an introduction by J. W. Clark. London.

The Observances in use at the Augustinian Priory of S. Giles and S. Andrew at Barnwell, Cambridgeshire. Ed. with a translation and glossary by J. W. Clark. Cambridge.

1898

A Concise Guide to the Town and University of Cambridge. In four walks. Cambridge.

Frequently re-issued.

The Greek Play at Cambridge.

Published in *Amateur Clubs and Actors.* Ed. by W. G. Elliot. London.

The Queens' College of S. Margaret and S. Bernard (1448—1898). Cambridge.

1899

On the Vatican Library of Sixtus IV. *C.A.S.*, March 6.

1900

Old Friends at Cambridge and elsewhere. London.

The Care of Books. Four lectures delivered at Cambridge, Lent Term, 1900. Cambridge.

The Sandars Lectures. Privately printed. Expanded and published in 1901.

A Mediæval Monastery: its plan and its inmates. *Guardian*, August 8, 15.

1901

The Care of Books. An Essay on the development of Libraries and their Fittings, from the earliest times to the end of the eighteenth century. Cambridge.

Le Roi est mort! Vive le Roi! [On the celebration of the accession of a Sovereign at Cambridge.] *Cambridge Review*, February 7.

Historical Sketch of the Cambridge University Press.

Prefixed to *Specimens of printing types and ornaments at the University Press, Cambridge.*

Ordinances of the University of Cambridge. Ed. by J. W. Clark. Cambridge.

1902

The Care of Books. Ed. 2. Cambridge.

First published 1901.

On the work done to the Library of Exeter Cathedral in 1412 and 1413. *C.A.S.*, November 3.

On two pieces of furniture in Exeter Cathedral, formerly used for the protection of books. *C.A.S.*, November 3.

1903

On two Wheel-Desks. *C.A.S.*, May 11.

A Description of the East Room of the University Library, Cambridge, as built by Bishop Rotherham, written by William Cole, M.A., in 1759. *C.A.S.*, May 11.

1904

On some English Verses written in a Fifteenth Century Service-Book; with a Paraphrase and Notes. *C.A.S.*, January 25.

On the Charitable Foundations in the University called Chests. *C.A.S.*, January 25.

Le Roi s'amuse. A drama by Victor Hugo. Act V [translated]. February 8.

Royal Visits to Cambridge. *Cambridge Review*, February 18.

Endowments of the University of Cambridge. Ed. by J. W. Clark. Cambridge.

Statutes of the University of Cambridge. Ed. by J. W. Clark. Cambridge.

1905

Cantabrigia Illustrata. By David Loggan. A Series of Views of the University and Colleges and of Eton College. Ed. by J. W. Clark. Cambridge.

The Origin and Development of the Collegiate plan at Oxford and Cambridge. *Builder*, March 18.

1906

The Riot at the Great Gate of Trinity College, February, 1610—11. *C.A.S.*, 8° Publ., 43.

Hand-List of the works of Richard Bentley, D.D.; and of the pamphlets written in his defence or against him. By A. T. Bartholomew and J. W. Clark. Cambridge.

For private circulation only. Expanded and published in 1908.

Note on the Library of the Benedictine Monastery of *La Chaise Dieu* in Auvergne. *C.A.S.*, May 7.

1907

Liber memorandorum Ecclesie de Bernewelle. Ed. by J. W. Clark, with an Introduction by F. W. Maitland. Cambridge.

Alfred Newton. *Cambridge Review*, June 13.

1908

Richard Bentley, D.D. A Bibliography of his works and of all the literature called forth by his acts or his writings. By A. T. Bartholomew. With an Introduction and Chronological Table by J. W. Clark. Cambridge.

On two bookcovers, with chains, found in the tower of St Benedict's Church, Cambridge. *C.A.S.*, February 24.

1909

The Care of Books. Cambridge.
New and cheaper ed. First published 1901.

Buckingham College. *Cambridge Review*, Feb. 4.

Memories and Customs, (1820—1860). Cambridge.
Repr. from the *Cambridge Review*, Lent Term.

In the Press:

Hamond's Plan of Cambridge, 1592, together with the Plans of Lyne, Braun, Fuller, Loggan, and Custance. With descriptions by J. W. Clark.

A. T. B.

C. G.

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS

A. C. Ainger, M.A. Trin.
R. E. Alderson, M.A. Trin.
H. G. Aldis, *M.A.* Pet.
Professor Sir T. C. Allbutt, K.C.B., M.D. Gonv. and Cai.
Rev. A. J. C. Allen, M.A. Pet.
T. W. Allen, M.A. (Oxf.)
F. M. Alleyne, M.A. (Oxf.)
The late Rev. R. Appleton, M.A. H. Selw.
Rev. P. Arthur, M.A. Trin.
R. Assheton, M.A. Trin.
Rev. E. Atkinson, D.D. *Master of Clare*
R. A. Austen Leigh, M.A. King's
W. Austen Leigh, M.A. King's
Rev. A. V. Baillie, M.A. Trin.
R. G. Baird, B.A. Trin.
Right Hon. A. J. Balfour, M.A. Trin.
Right Hon. G. W. Balfour, M.A. Trin.
T. Balfour, Esq.
W. W. Rouse Ball, M.A. Trin.
W. A. Bankes, B.A. Tr. Hall
Rev. W. T. A. Barber, M.A. Gonv. and Cai.
A. T. Bartholomew, M.A. Pet.
E. A. Beck, M.A. *Master of Trinity Hall*
Rev. E. J. Beck, M.A. Cla.
F. G. M. Beck, M.A. Cla.
B. Benham, M.A. King's
A. C. Benson, M.A. Magd.
W. H. Besant, Sc.D. Joh.
Professor A. A. Bevan, M.A. Trin.
J. E. Bidwell, M.A. Trin.
H. Bond, LL.D. Tr. Hall
Sir G. F. Bonham, Bart.
Rev. T. G. Bonney, Sc.D. Joh.
Rev. A. H. F. Boughey, M.A. Trin.
G. E. B. Bowes, M.A. Emm.
R. Bowes, Esq.
Professor J. B. Bradbury, M.D. Down.
J. E. Brandt, M.D. (Edin.)
H. H. Brindley, M.A. Joh.
Justin Brooke, B.A. Emm.
Horatio F. Brown, Esq.
Professor E. G. Browne, M.A. Pemb.
A. A. Buchanan, B.A. Trin.
Arabel Lady Buchanan
Sir E. A. Buchanan, Bart.
Sir G. W. Buchanan, K.C.V.O.
J. Y. Buchanan, M.A. Chr.
W. W. Buckland, M.A. Gonv. and Cai.
W. H. Buckler, B.A. Trin.
E. Bullough, M.A. Trin.
L. de Bunsen, Esq.
Rev. A. E. Burn, D.D. Trin.
E. Burrell, Esq.
J. G. Butcher, M.A., K.C. Trin.
S. H. Butcher, M.A. Trin., *Representative*
A. J. Butler, M.A. Trin.

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS

Rev. H. M. Butler, D.D. *Master of Trinity*
Mrs Sydney Buxton
R. T. Caldwell, LL.M. *Master of Corpus Christi*
R. H. Calvert, B.A. Trin.
Sir E. T. Candy, M.A. Gonv. and Cai.
A. B. Cane, B.A. Trin.
F. Cant, Esq.
J. W. Capstick, M.A. Trin.
The Right Hon. Earl Carrington, K.G. Trin.
H. D. Catling, M.A. Joh.
C. J. P. Cave, M.A. Trin.
Rev. J. L. Challis, M.A. Trin.
M. Edouard Champion
M. Pierre Champion
The Ven. Archdeacon Chapman
H. A. Chapman, *M.A.*
G. Chawner, M.A. King's
W. Chawner, M.A. *Master of Emmanuel*
Rev. George Chitty, M.A. King's
Professor E. C. Clark, LL.D. Joh.
J. Clay, M.A. Joh.
Mrs Cobb
L. Cobbett, M.D. Trin.
Viscount Cobham, M.A. Trin.
S. C. Cockerell, M.A.
A. C. Cole, M.A. Trin.
Miss Edith Cole
A. D. Coleridge, M.A. King's
Sidney Colvin, M.A. Trin.
Rev. A. E. Conybeare, M.A. King's
Rev. W. J. Conybeare, M.A. Trin.
B. Cookson, M.A. Trin.
F. M. Cornford, M.A. Trin.
J. F. Crace, M.A. King's
Rev. D. H. S. Cranage, M.A. King's
The Right Hon. the Earl of Crewe, K.G., M.A. Trin.
Rev. H. S. Cronin, B.D. Tr. Hall
The Ven. Archdeacon Cunningham, D.D. Trin.
L. Cust, M.A. Trin.
F. Darwin, M.A. Chr.
Professor Sir G. H. Darwin, K.C.B., M.A. Trin.
H. Darwin, M.A. Trin.
Rev. A. G. Day, M.A. Gonv. and Cai.
The Earl of Desart, Trin.
His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, Trin.
Professor Sir J. Dewar, M.A. Pet.
Rev. S. A. Donaldson, B.D. *Master of Magdalene*
M. Léon Dorez
E. H. Douty, M.D. King's
G. H. Duckworth, M.A. Trin.
G. Duckworth, M.A. Cla.
W. Durnford, M.A. King's
G. M. Edwards, M.A. Sid. Suss.
H. J. Edwards, M.A. Pet.
Mrs H. J. Edwards
Rev. Fr. Franz Ehrle, S.J. *Litt.D.*
W. G. Elliot, B.A. Trin.
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Ely, D.D. Qu.
Viscount Esher, M.A. Trin.
A. H. Evans, M.A. Cla.
L. Ewbank, M.A. Cla.
F. L. V. Fildes, B.A. Trin.
G. B. Finch, M.A. Qu.
Rev. T. C. Fitzpatrick, M.A. *President of Queens'*
W. M. Fletcher, M.D. Trin.
A. F. Forster, LL.B. Trin.
Professor A. R. Forsyth, Sc.D. Trin.
G. K. Fortescue, LL.D. (Aberd.)
J. E. Foster, M.A. Trin.

T. M. Francis, M.A. Trin.
J. G. Frazer, M.A. Trin.
Rev. W. H. Frere, M.A. Trin.
J. S. Gardiner, M.A. Gonv. and Cai.
Mrs Garlant
S. Gaselee, M.A. Magd.
Sir A. Geikie, K.C.B., *Sc.D.*
R. Geikie, M.A. King's
Professor H. A. Giles, M.A. Trin.
P. Giles, M.A. Emm.
R. T. Glazebrook, M.A. Trin.
Cosmo Gordon, B.A. King's
E. Gosse, *M.A.*
F. Grand d'Hauteville, B.A. Trin.
C. E. Grant, M.A. King's
W. W. Grantham, M.A. Trin.
A. Gray, M.A. Jes.
Rev. C. Gray, M.A. Trin.
J. Greaves, M.A. Chr.
G. G. Greenwood, B.A. Trin.
Rev. W. Greenwood, M.A. Corp. Chr.
W. W. Greg, Litt.D. Trin.
E. C. Grenfell, B.A. Trin.
Hon. J. A. de Grey, M.A. Trin.
E. J. Gross, M.A. Gonv. and Cai.
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Guildford, D.D. Trin.
L. N. Guillemard, M.A. Trin.
C. Gurdon, M.A. Jes.
E. T. Gurdon, M.A. Trin.
Rev. F. Gurdon, M.A. Trin.
A. C. Haddon, Sc.D. Chr.
B. E. Hammond, M.A. Trin.
W. B. Hardy, M.A. Gonv. and Cai.
S. F. Harmer, Sc.D. King's
A. Lister Harrison, Esq.
W. Hartree, M.A. Trin.
E. Harvey, M.A. H. Selw.
G. W. Hattersley, Esq.
Harold D. Hazeltine, M.A. Emm.
Rev. F. W. Head, M.A. Emm.
H. Head, M.D. Trin.
W. Heape, *M.A.* Trin.
J. P. Hedley, M.A. King's
Rev. P. M. Herbert, B.A. Trin.
Lord F. Hervey
W. H. St John Hope, M.A. Pet.
Professor Hopkinson, M.A. Trin.
Sir A. F. Hort, Bart. M.A. Trin.
Rev. J. C. H. How, M.A. Trin.
Baron Anatole von Hügel, M.A. Trin.
Baron Friedrich von Hügel, M.A. Cla.
Professor T. McKenny Hughes, M.A. Cla.
A. P. Humphry, M.A. Trin.
L. Humphry, M.D. Trin.
A. Hutchinson, M.A. Pemb.
J. C. Isard, M.A. Trin.
Professor H. Jackson, Litt.D., O.M. Trin.
H. Jackson, M.A. Down.
H. A. Jackson, M.A. Trin.
A. G. James, M.A. (Oxf.)
M. R. James, Litt.D. *Provost of King's*
F. Jenkinson, M.A. Trin. *Librarian*
Sir L. Jones, Bart. M.A. Trin.
Professor R. H. Kennett, B.D. Qu.
J. N. Keynes, Sc.D. Pemb.
O. S. Locker Lampson, B.A. Trin.
Professor J. N. Langley, Sc.D. Trin.
Professor J. Larmor, M.A. Joh.
R. V. Laurence, M.A. Trin.
Lady Lawrence
Stanley Leathes, M.A. Trin.
R. C. Lehmann, M.A. Trin.
The Very Rev. J. W. Leigh, D.D. *Dean of Hereford*

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS

W. T. Lendrum, M.A. Gonv. and Cai.
J. J. Lister, M.A. Joh.
W. T. Lister, M.B. Trin.
G. D. Liveing, M.A., *Sc.D.* Joh.
Rev. J. B. Lock, M.A. Gonv. and Cai.
G. W. E. Loder, M.A. Trin.
Right Hon. J. W. Lowther, LL.M. Trin.
H. E. Luxmoore, M.A. (Oxf.)
Right Hon. A. Lyttelton, M.A. Trin.
The Rev. the Hon. E. Lyttelton, B.D. Trin.
Hon. R. H. Lyttelton, M.A. Trin.
Hon. S. G. Lyttelton, M.A. Trin.
W. H. Macaulay, M.A. King's
Alan Mackinnon, Esq.
Norman McLean, M.A. Chr.
G. A. Macmillan, *Litt.D.* (Oxf.)
F. Madan, M.A. (Oxf.)
Eiríkr Magnússon, M.A. Trin.
Lady Maine
G. J. Maquay, B.A. Trin.
H. C. Marillier, B.A. King's
E. H. Marsh, M.A. Trin.
Professor F. H. Marsh, M.A. *Master of Downing*
A. Marshall, *Sc.D.* Joh.
A. H. Marshall, B.A. Trin.
W. C. Marshall, M.A. Trin.
C. E. Martineau, B.A. Trin.
Rev. A. J. Mason, D.D. *Master of Pembroke*
A. Norman Mason, Esq.
W. H. Mason, B.A. Trin.
A. P. Maudslay, M.A. Tr. Hall
Professor J. E. B. Mayor, M.A. Joh.
H. Mellish, Esq.
F. B. Mildmay, B.A. Trin.
E. H. Minns, M.A. Pemb.
Hon. E. S. Montagu, M.A. Trin.
Rev. H. A. Morgan, D.D. *Master of Jesus*
J. Bass Mullinger, M.A. Joh.
C. S. Myers, M.D. Gonv. and Cai.
Mrs F. W. H. Myers
Professor H. F. Newall, M.A. Trin.
C. M. Newton, M.A. King's
H. A. Newton, M.A. Magd.
J. E. Nixon, M.A. King's
H. C. Norman, B.A. Trin.
Professor G. H. F. Nuttall, Sc.D. Magd.
The Earl of Onslow, M.A. (Oxf.)
Mrs Packe
E. H. Parker, M.A. King's
T. Parkin, M.A. Trin.
Sir H. H. Parry, Bart., Mus.D. (Oxf.)
Rev. R. St John Parry, B.D. Trin.
J. B. Peace, M.A. Emm.
A. H. Peart, LL.M. Pet.
E. S. Peck, M.A.
J. Peile, Litt.D. *Master of Christ's*
Rev. T. P. Pemberton, M.A. Trin.
Mrs Pemberton
S. G. Phear, D.D. Emm.
Rev. C. Platts, M.A. Trin.
The Right Hon. the Earl of Plymouth, M.A. Joh.
D. N. Pollock, M.A. King's
Sir F. Pollock, Bart. M.A. Trin.
L. M. Powell, B.A. Trin.
Rev. R. W. Powell, M.A. Trin.
J. Prior, M.A. Trin.
G. W. Prothero, Litt.D. King's
F. R. Pryor, M.A. Trin.
M. R. Pryor, M.A. Trin.
J. E. Purvis, M.A. Joh.
T. W. Pym, B.A. Trin.
W. B. Redfern, Esq.
Professor J. S. Reid, Litt.D. Gonv. and Cai.

J. J. Reubell, M.A. Magd.
Miss Reubell
T. H. Riches, M.A. Gonv. and Cai.
O. L. Richmond, M.A. King's
Rev. E. S. Roberts, M.A. *Master of Gonville and Caius*
A. J. Robertson, M.A. Trin.
Rev. C. K. Robinson, D.D. *Master of S. Catharine's*
Alfred Rogers, Esq.
H. D. Rolleston, M.D. Joh.
M. Georges Roth
Mrs Routh
F. M. Rushmore, M.A. Cath.
C. R. Rutherford, M.A. (Oxf.)
J. E. Sandys, Litt.D. Joh. *Public Orator*
Sir Ernest Satow, G.C.M.G.
C. Sayle, M.A. Joh.
A. F. Scholfield, B.A. King's
R. F. Scott, M.A. *Master of S. John's*
Rev. W. G. Searle, M.A. Qu.
Professor A. Sedgwick, M.A. Trin.
Rev. E. C. Selwyn, D.D. King's
E. G. Selwyn, M.A. Corp. Chr.
Professor A. C. Seward, M.A. Emm.
J. T. Sheppard, M.A. King's
A. E. Shipley, M.A. Chr.
L. E. Shore, M.D. Joh.
Mrs Shuckburgh
J. E. Shuckburgh, B.A. King's
A. Sidgwick, M.A. (Oxf.)
Mrs Sidgwick
William Sindall, Esq.
Rev. Robert Sinker, D.D. Trin.
Professor W. W. Skeat, Litt.D. Chr.
J. H. Sleeman, M.A. Sid. Suss.
A. H. Smith, M.A. Trin.
C. Smith, M.A. *Master of Sid. Suss.*
G. C. M. Smith, M.A. Joh.
Sir H. Babington Smith, K.C.B. M.A. Trin.
O. H. Smith, B.A. Trin.
W. P. Spalding, Esq.
W. Spens, M.A. Corp. Chr.
W. B. Squire, M.A. Pemb.
Rev. J. H. Srawley, D.D. H. Selw.
Rev. Professor V. H. Stanton, D.D. Trin.
C. Hylton Stewart, Mus.Bac. Pet.
Rev. H. F. Stewart, B.D. Joh.
Sir J. M. Stirling-Maxwell, Bart. B.A. Trin.
G. J. Stoakley, Esq.
L. T. Stoakley, Esq.
M. P. V. Stock
Rev. H. P. Stokes, LL.D. Corp. Chr.
Rev. A. W. Streane, D.D. Corp. Chr.
A. H. Studd, B.A. King's
H. O. Sturgis, M.A. Trin.
Rev. E. G. Swain, M.A. King's
Professor H. B. Swete, D.D. Gonv. and Cai.
Mark Sykes, Esq.
Right Hon. J. G. Talbot, M.A. (Oxf.)
J. R. Tanner, Litt.D. Joh.
G. B. Tatham, M.A. Trin.
Sedley Taylor, M.A. Trin.
E. T. M. Teesdale, Esq.
H. Yates Thompson, B.A. Trin.
Professor Sir J. J. Thomson, M.A. Trin.
R. L. Thornton, M.A. Trin.
A. A. Tilley, M.A. King's
Rev. C. F. Townley, M.A. Trin.
M. G. Townley, M.A. Trin.
M. J. Truffier, *de la Comédie Française*
A. W. Verrall, Litt.D. Trin.

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS

Ven. Archdeacon Vesey, LL.D. Trin.
S. H. Vines, Sc.D. Chr.
Professor C. Waldstein, Litt.D. King's
Rev. T. A. Walker, LL.D. Pet.
Lord Walsingham, M.A. Trin. *High Steward*
A. W. Ward, Litt.D. *Master of Peterhouse*
Rev. J. T. Ward, M.A. Joh.
Rev. F. W. Warre-Cornish, M.A. King's
A. W. Watson, M.A. Magd.
F. H. M. Wayne, M.A. Magd.
R. S. Wayne, M.A. Trin.
Rev. G. A. Weekes, M.A. Sid. Suss.
The Right Rev. Bishop Welldon, D.D. King's, *Dean of Manchester*
G. Wherry, M.A. Down.
W. C. D. Whetham, M.A. Trin.
C. Whibley, B.A. Jes.
F. Whitting, M.A. King's
J. H. Widdicombe, M.A. Down.
Madame Wiel
G. C. Williamson, *Litt.D.*
Lord Willoughby de Eresby, M.A. Trin.
Sir H. F. Wilson, K.C.M.G. M.A. Trin.
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Winchester, D.D. Qu.
W. W. Wingate, M.B. Jes.
F. B. Winthrop, M.A. Trin.
C. Wood, Mus.D. Gonv. and Cai.
Professor G. Sims Woodhead, M.A. Tr. Hall
R. T. Wright, M.A. Chr.
W. Aldis Wright, M.A. Trin.